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Past, Present Leaders' Qualities Viewed

90UN2522A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 90
Second Edition p 2

[Article by Yuriy Gribov: "Positions and Personalities"]

[Text] "Yes, there has never been such movement of the cadres...an avalanche, a wave! And just think, in all spheres! They are going down in flocks, and to a man! Take the politburo or the Russian Council of Ministers...."

"But what can we do?"

Intelligent heads are required everywhere. At present as never before. Without intelligent, young and reckless heads perestroika will mark time and life will deteriorate. And this is dangerous. There is a struggle in the states, a strong struggle. Visible and invisible....

"It would be a good thing if the market got started faster. Possibly it would be able to put everything in its proper place...."

A comrade and I were sitting in his kitchen, and we had met in order, without touching on politics, to speak about personal matters, simply about life, about books, the coming summer vacations, but it was impossible to have a "ideological-free" conversation. Politics intervened everywhere.

"Goodness, it seemed so quiet in the years of stagnation," my comrade joked. "The succession of cadres was encouraged, there was additional leave and things were relaxed. Take it easy, don't overdo it. Everywhere there were slogans hanging up and large signs saying 'The Party Is the Mind, Honor and Conscience of Our Age' and 'The Party Is Our Helmsman.' Brezhnev had on his desk a helm or more accurately a steering wheel, a wheel with some levers. This wheel was always somewhere prominent when dear Leonid Ilich received someone in his office. I, you know, always wanted to ask his associates from the leadership as just what this wheel meant?"

"And I was burning up with curiosity over the file of Comrade Chernenko. Do you know that Konstantin Ustinovich [Chernenko] was always with Brezhnev in the Crimea and when they received foreign friends, he stood to the side of the General Secretary and a little behind but always under his arm was a massive file. And I was dying to know just what he had in this file and why it was so bulky?"

A joke is a joke, but I am always somewhat bitter when I must recall the years of the rule by Brezhnev and Chernenko. I am ashamed before the entire world for those times. Everyone saw and heard them and the foreigners and even many of our own people indignantly wondered: they are sick, powerless old men, completely helpless and why aren't they pensioned off? Is it impossible to find replacements? Or is it something else?

That was then but now it has long been known that this senselessness was supported precisely by "something else." It held strongly, like the chains of the prisoner. The caste balanced should not be upset. It made no difference that the individual did not correspond to the position. The important thing was that you were a tested cog in the wheel. This principle went far from the Stalin-Khrushchev decades. And it was only after this cadre school that the "steering wheel" appeared which led to personal pull, narrow-mindedness and unprecedented thievery. Probably our history has never known such perversion of the cadres. It was bad to be honest and good to be a swindler.

It cost the state a great deal to support an individual who did not correspond to his position. The payment was not only material but also moral. Even now, millions of superiors of various caliber are unable to properly carry out their job. They sit, do their hours, issue orders and appear to work. For example, we could be sent to serve in the gosplan but we actually don't know planning. We may be on the staff of a magazine or newspaper but unable to write. They could lead a certain sector with only a hazy notion of its main essence. It also happened that a kolkhoz chairman grew a good crop and then he was made a minister. A new ministry could be established for a favorite or relative....

In those times, the leaders, and particularly the party ones, were blessed only from above. This was called an interview. If you were not liked or were somehow unseemly, then back you went, dear fellow, to your Kostroma or Pskov and it made no difference that there, in the backwater, you were defended through thick and thin....

And then, if suddenly the vacancy of a first secretary opened up somewhere, in the obkom offices and corridors there was constant speculation:

"Well, fellows, who will they send us this time? Probably no one outstanding...."

"But maybe they will not send us someone but take one of our own? The chairman of the executive committee is dozing over there. The second secretary has been mooning for a week and has drunk 40 bottles of 'mineral water'...."

"There is nothing we can do about it. They inevitably send someone...."

As a rule, the first secretaries were actually sent to us. I myself repeatedly witnessed the ceremony of the unanimous "elections" which usually did not last longer than 20 minutes. And these leaders, like appanage princes, "settled in" for three or four 5-year periods....

Of course, with such a cadre policy, intelligent and able persons were also promoted. And they were numerous. But a significant portion quickly adapted, and they became "like everyone else," and they retreated into themselves. It would be difficult to recall when anybody,

indignant over the flattery and lies and the injustices, would play the hero. Once, at the peak of the corn bacchanalia and the elimination of private livestock, I recalled "playing the hero" to a first secretary of an obkom, a person close to me whom I had known since childhood, a very honest worker. He immediately frowned, sighed and his lips trembled.

"It is beyond a single person to play the hero as the gap is too large.... I thought about this.... I see everything and understand all. Sometime we will be condemned for this. But now this is how things are. My dear, it is like religion...."

And how many fates have been maimed by certain petty tyrant leaders, how many heart attacks and strokes have they caused directly in service!

Legends have arisen about the caprices and Napoleonic aspirations of certain oblast leaders, and anecdotes have formed. In the Pskov area, I recall, there was a kolkhoz chairman named Ivan Timofeyevich Popov, a Russian deputy. He had a sharp peasant mind. He managed excellently and his kolkhoz was tops. He, a former decorated partisan, was also called "my dear," because he included these words in virtually every phrase. Once the secretary of the obkom came to see him, he presented him with a decoration and then had lunch. Later on, they went out to look at the ducks.

"You, Popov, are not feeding them right," said the secretary pre-emptorily. "They should be force-fed."

"You are wrong, my dear. You force-feed them when you want meat, but mine lay eggs and we supply the entire rayon with duck eggs. So stick to your own, my dear...."

That was the end of it! The secretary yelled at Popov, banged the door of his car and drove off. On the very same day, he summoned the newspaper editor to him:

"Why do you praise Popov issue after issue? Stop it!"

In this same obkom there was another secretary famous for his appearances in the press. There were few who realized that he simply extorted a statement but he had a reputation in the press. And he did this like many others did in inviting a timid journalist and offering to help "edit," supplying the newspaper women with information from the agricultural department.

"So you see," he said, slipping into the informal form of address, regardless of age. "Moscow has ordered an article from me and the subject is not a new one: 'Spreading the Flax Under the August Dew' and it must be sent off tomorrow. Write it. Delve deeper and make an effort. There must be more scholarliness, more scholarliness! I am working on a candidate degree and there must be scholarliness...."

Without any shame, he received the fees, and large ones, but did not give even a present to that journalist and kept

every penny for himself. He even complained a bit wondering why the editors were so long in sending him a translation....

There are people who should generally not hold leading positions. Seemingly unnoticeable flaws in their character soon began to be magnified and gain the upper hand over common sense. Even in intelligent people. This becomes an illness, and not everyone can resist it. Having spent some time in a leadership position, they even change their walk, the timber of their voice by the age of 40, they develop a stomach, their face is seemingly cast in bronze, that is, it shows no emotion, and without fail in stead of a neck, a thick nape of the neck appears as KROKODIL is fond of depicting. Such superiors cease reading, they purposely forget they went to a school and institute, they are fond of bawdy hunting and fishing anecdotes, saunas, tables spread with tasty, abundant food, and, of course, with drink....

What must we do so that such people do not get in the leadership? Invent a device which shows like an X-ray all the shortcomings concealed within. But it will not be invented soon. Perestroyka has already tossed up one device and this is elections, glasnost and reportability to the people. And possibly, also a multiparty system when it has gathered the necessary steam. And there is of course the pending market. This will be the device of devices, an economic, merciless lever which does not respond to any pull. It will quickly weed out the failures and chatterers. And they themselves will flee. There will be a situation of go where you want but do only what you are able....

What should a modern leader be, when around us everything is turbulent, the nation is on the rack, when many have their fists clinched and so many "whys" arise?

"He should almost be a saint," my friend said seriously. "And very intelligent. We have suffered and endured so much from the unintelligent. And we are still suffering...."

We have been changing the cadres for 5 years, but life still does not change for the better. The problems are growing and growing. There was no soap and soap powder, now there is no tobacco. The men are swearing and the women too. They are not smoking any less. Coupons, lists, visits, lines, rows and irritation. Reality confronts you in the fact in the morning. There is no hot water, the milk has gone sour, the newspaper has not been delivered, the elevator is out of order, and the door does not open due to the new nonworking call system and the light in the stairwell burns day and night, because it should now be put out somewhere by a dispatcher but the dispatcher forgets to do this. You have not even left the house and your are already irritated and nervous. And on the street, as soon as you head somewhere, the irritation increases because of the do not go, do not buy, do not return, do not learn, do not receive....

And behind all of this stands some leader, a superior, a head. Ukases, laws and orders have been issued....

At present, it is difficult to be a superior; oh how difficult it is if they have come up through the ranks but have little ability. And we have more than enough of these. I am even embarrassed when they are given the floor on television.

"We have raised this question and are discussing it," a leader mumbles, inarticulately. "In our city the inexpensive items are being used up, we must saturate the market...saturate the market...."

"Well, it sounds just like a parrot!" say the viewers laughingly, sitting in front of the screen. "Saturate the market.... How many times have they promised to do this? And they go on saturating, drawing things out! But just look, they are saturated, all smooth and tidy...."

The ability to behave properly before the people, to partake in any, even the most astute dispute and hold one's own—this is the main thing for the party worker. And for any leader. "Unarmed," traveling light, as before, will not do for the people. They will dismiss you.

"Well, friend," I said to my comrade, "put the teapot on again, otherwise we will not finish our conversation. It is quite alarming. We rush to the left, then to the right, then toward the center, we demonstrate in the streets, we hold meetings and make promises...."

"That we rush to the left and to the right is not so awful, but rather is natural. A multiparty system is also not awful. It is even useful. We are building a state under the law and everything must be put honestly and openly before the people.... Life must be quickly improved and this will extinguish the future fires...."

"I, you know, believe in Russia. You remember the words of that famous song 'If There Is a Russia, Then I Will Be.' Russia will be alright if the first steps are wise and balanced...."

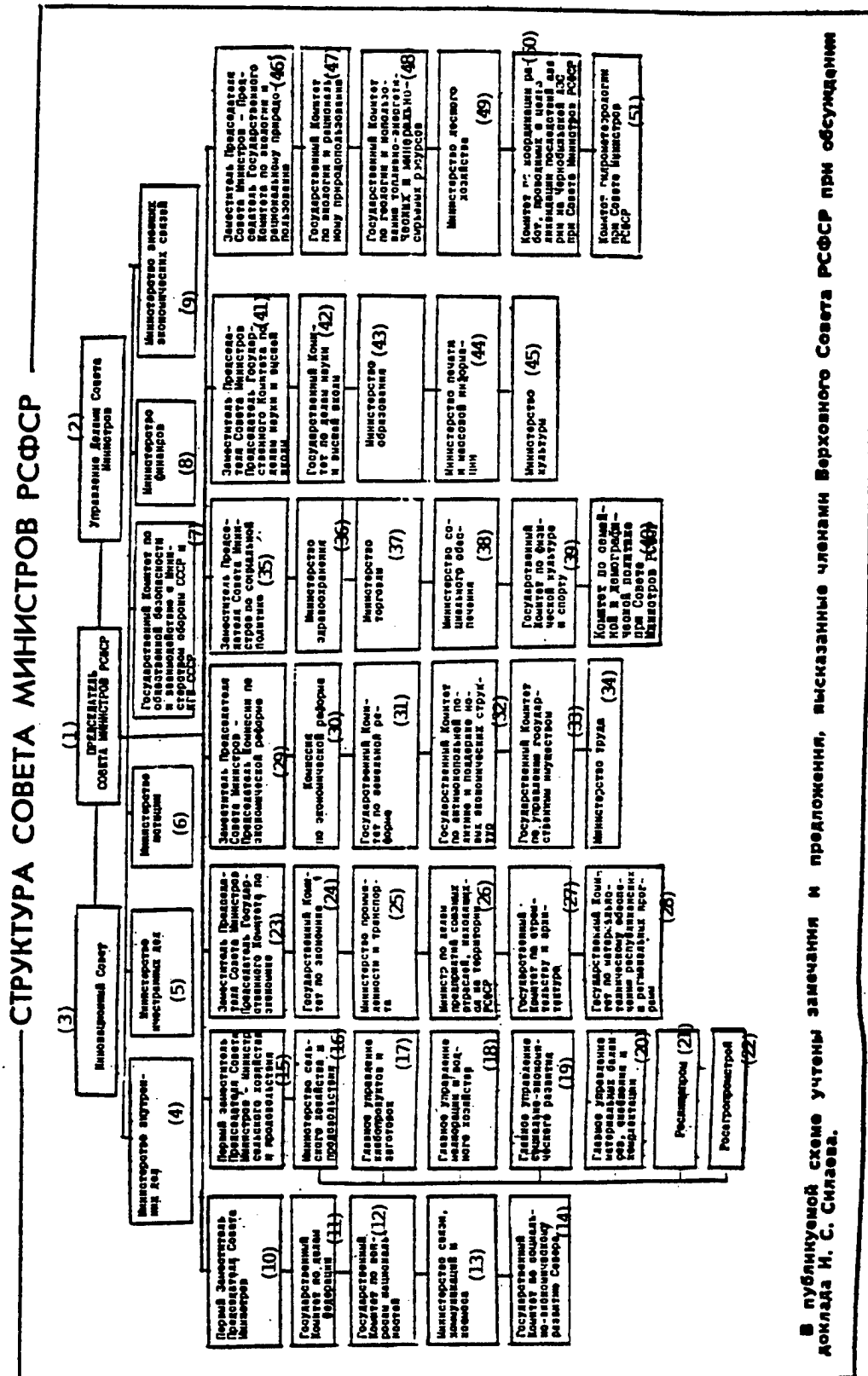
"Nevertheless, we will survive. And smart heads are found everywhere. Truth will gain the upper hand. It has been thus in all times. The way is right and the leaders dependable...."

Silayev's Proposed Structure for RSFSR Council of Ministers

*90UN2337A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 7 Jul 90 Single Edition p 5*

[Chart by I.S. Silayev: "Structure of RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The diagram being published takes into account the remarks and suggestions stated by members of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet during discussion of I.S. Silayev's report.



Structure of RSFSR Council of Ministers

Key:

1. Chairman of RSFSR Council of Ministers
2. Administration of Affairs of the Council of Ministers
3. Innovation Council
4. Ministry of Internal Affairs
5. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
6. Ministry of Justice
7. State Committee for Public Security and Interaction with the USSR Ministry of Defense and USSR KGB
8. Ministry of Finance
9. Ministry of Foreign Economic Ties
10. First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers
11. State Committee for Federation Affairs
12. State Committee for Nationality Questions
13. Ministry of Communication, Communications, and Space
14. State Committee for Social and Economic Development of the North
15. First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers—Minister of Agriculture and Food
16. Ministry of Agriculture and Food
17. Main Administration of Grain Products and Procurement
18. Main Administration of Land Reclamation and Water Resources
19. Main Administration of Social and Economic Development
20. Main Administration of Material Balances, Supply, and Acquisition
21. Administration of the Food Industry
22. Administration of Agroindustrial Construction
23. Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers—Chairman of the State Committee for Economics
24. State Committee for Economics
25. Ministry of Industry and Transportation
26. Minister for Affairs of Enterprises of Union Sectors Located on the Territory of the RSFSR
27. State Committee for Construction and Architecture
28. State Committee for Material and Technical Support of Republic and Regional Programs
29. Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers—Chairman of the Commission on Economic Reform
30. Commission on Economic Reform
31. State Committee on Land Reform
32. State Committee for Antimonopoly Policy and Support of New Economic Structures
33. State Committee for Management of State Property
34. Ministry of Labor
35. Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers for Social Policy
36. Ministry of Health
37. Ministry of Trade
38. Ministry of Social Security
39. State Committee for Physical Education and Sports
40. RSFSR Council of Ministers Committee for Family and Demographic Policy
41. Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers—Chairman of the State Committee for Affairs of Science and Higher Schooling
42. State Committee for Affairs of Science and Higher Schooling
43. Ministry of Education
44. Ministry of the Press and Mass Information
45. Ministry of Culture
46. Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers—Chairman of the State Committee for Ecology and Rational Use of Natural Resources
47. State Committee for Ecology and Rational Use of Natural Resources
48. State Committee for Geology and Use of Fuel and Energy and Raw Material Resources
49. Ministry of Forestry
50. RSFSR Council of Ministers Committee for Coordination of Work To Eliminate the Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl Atomic Power Plant

51. RSFSR Council of Ministers Committee on Hydrometeorology disturbing: Too many seats in the republic Supreme Soviet are occupied by members of the apparat—primarily party secretaries on different levels. I do not think these people are inclined to support radical reforms or cardinal changes in our life. They are conservative by their very nature. I am certain that many proposals of the "Democratic Russia" bloc will simply be sabotaged. It is true, however, that the people are tired of promises and are demanding action. If there are no reforms, if a package of legislative acts designed to improve our life is not approved soon, the situation could be extremely dismal. If this should happen, I think the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet will have no other choice but to dismiss parliament and arrange for new elections for a better parliament.

Bocharov Comments on RSFSR Congress

90UN2359A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No 26,
Jun 90 p 2

[Interview with Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bocharov, people's deputy of the USSR and RSFSR, by correspondent Igor Serebryakov: "Time Is the Best Indicator"; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] **Mikhail Bocharov is a people's deputy of the USSR and RSFSR. His 500-day program for republic economic recovery won a great deal of support at the First Congress of People's Deputies of Russia, which just came to an end. Along with Ivan Silayev, he was one of the serious contenders for the office of chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. Our correspondent asked Mikhail Bocharov to assess the results of the congress and Russia's prospects for the near future.**

[Correspondent] Mikhail Aleksandrovich, the first congress of Russian deputies is over. In your opinion, did we manage to get everything done or were we, as always, unable to avoid pitiful errors?

[Bocharov] It is all a matter of comparison. I remember the First Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. In spite of the lengthy preparations by the Moscow group of deputies, which later became interregional, there were many problems. The agenda was not amended, for example, and no decision was made on the 6th article of the Constitution of the USSR. All of this was done at the recent Russian congress. The election of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin as chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is of tremendous significance. The Decree on Authority was taken as the basis of government, the sovereignty of the RSFSR was declared, and people's control was abolished. Of course, I have only mentioned part of what we managed to do. It certainly sounds impressive, but there were also some serious failures. Perhaps the main one was our inability to change the numerical composition of the republic Supreme Soviet. As a result, the deputies literally fought for seats in the Supreme Soviet. You will agree that this is ridiculous. The people elect their authorized representatives, and then they are suddenly divided into two separate categories at the congress, into two different classes, depending on their membership in the Supreme Soviet. I think the Russian parliament is flawed to a certain extent and that the Congress-Supreme Soviet system has to be changed because equality is essential in parliament. Time is the best indicator of accuracy and it will prove the validity of a particular point of view.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Aleksandrovich, as a deputy on the two highest levels, do you not feel that the people are tired of watching verbal battles on the television screen and waiting for changes in living conditions?

[Bocharov] I can be even more frank: The deputies have used up almost all of the trust the people gave them on credit. Only certain hopes for the Russian parliament remain. The current situation, however, is extremely

[Correspondent] After the First Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR many people said that the deputies were learning parliamentary procedure on the run. Does this also apply to the Russian congress? Is professionalism not in order, especially at this high level?

[Bocharov] Yes, we certainly do have to learn as we go—there are no precedents in our history. I agree that only specialists of the highest caliber should be in parliament, because we do not have the time for a long period of adjustment. Now, especially on the local level, the soviets have taken power but simply do not know how to use it. For instance, who decided the duties of the oblast soviet chairman and oblispolkom chairman? As for the training of specialists, the party bureaucracy controlled literally every aspect of our lives for too many years, including science and education, and simply got rid of all objectionable individuals. Where would we find free thinkers today, and in these numbers? We were taught not to think, and this is frightening.

[Correspondent] Here is my last question. We know that you officially refused to participate in the work of the Russian government headed by Ivan Silayev. Is self-isolation not a position, and if so, is this the time to take this kind of position?

[Bocharov] First of all, I have to clear up this misunderstanding. I did not receive any kind of official invitation, and therefore I certainly could not have refused it. It is true that I do not want to share responsibility with Chairman Ivan Silayev of the Council of Ministers because, for several reasons, I do not think this undertaking will succeed. I also feel, however, that I do not have the right to isolate myself. I was asked to head the republic's Supreme Economic Council and render the kind of assistance only specialists can offer. If the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet does not change his mind, I will accept this appointment.

Prokofyev on Results of RSFSR CP Congress

90UN2359B Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 30 Jun 90 p 2

[Interview with Yuriy Anatolyevich Prokofyev, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU gorkom, by correspondent V. Yevseyev: "It Is June in Moscow and the Political Thermometer Is at the Boiling Point"; passages in bold-face as published]

[Text] First Secretary Yuriy Prokofyev of the Moscow CPSU gorkom commented on readers' letters and telephone calls to the editors in a conversation with a MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent.

The beginning of this summer did not overindulge us with heat, but if a political thermometer had been installed in the capital, the mercury would probably have climbed almost to the boiling point on these June days.

Before the Muscovites had time to think about the results of the city party conference, which our newspaper, with what now appears to be rash optimism, called a dress rehearsal for the 28th CPSU Congress, another newspaper compared it to another party forum on more distressing but more valid grounds.

The results of the Russian party conference, which finished its work as the constituent congress of the Communist Party of the RSFSR, results which were expected and predicted, suddenly turned out to be unexpected and unpredictable. They evoked what was probably the broadest possible range of reactions: from complete approval to the surrender of party membership cards.

If this republic congress was a dress rehearsal for the unionwide party congress, it is time to start worrying. Is there enough time to learn lessons from it and make at least some changes? After all, the 28th CPSU Congress will begin in a matter of hours.

Who Decided the Fate of the Congress?

[Yevseyev] Yuriy Anatolyevich, let us begin with the shortest and perhaps most insulting letter the editors received following the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of the RSFSR. Here it is. In essence, it consists of only one line: "The intellectual level of those present was shocking."

[Prokofyev] What can I say? This angry reaction is understandable. Something else about the letter is unpleasant and is not understandable—why the author printed the sentence in block letters and did not give his name or address. In short, this is just another indication of how closely the new and the old are still intertwined in our life: His desire to be as bold as possible is combined with elementary cowardice.

I have encountered this opinion when it has not been anonymous, however, in the press and in conversations. It is true that many people who are dissatisfied with the

congress results are blaming them on the qualitative makeup of the corps of delegates.

Let us look at things as they really are, however: We, the Communists of Russia, chose our own representatives. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of delegates were elected in line with the new procedure—by a direct secret ballot, with a choice of candidates, in party districts. In other words, they were elected by the most democratic method.

[Yevseyev] Nevertheless, many of our readers, such as engineer S. Polevoy, pensioners L. Antipina and V. Boguslavskiy, and student L. Sergeyev from Sverdlovsk, feel that the congress became a congress of apparatchiks. In fact, 1,171 of the 2,768 delegates were party personnel....

[Prokofyev] Well, in the first place, not all party personnel are apparatchiks. In the second place, I repeat, we elected them ourselves. Incidentally, the earlier election system would have sent far fewer party personnel to the congress. In any case, the kind of situation we had in Moscow, in which three party raykom secretaries were elected from a single rayon, would have been simply impossible. I am certain that there would have been many more members of the intelligentsia and workers....

[Yevseyev] Do you miss the days of the old election procedure?

[Prokofyev] Of course not. Nevertheless, I do see obvious flaws in the elections by party districts. In other words, the new election system also needs further consideration and improvement. This, however, is a job for the future. For now, the choice has been made, and it was made by the Communists themselves in a completely democratic manner.

[Yevseyev] The choice has been made, but does the composition of the congress correspond to the alignment of forces in Russian party organizations? Does it reflect the correlation of views and of stated positions?

[Prokofyev] I think it does in general. Whether we like it or not, it is a reality now, and we cannot ignore it.

[Yevseyev] Several readers frankly questioned the legality of the Constituent Congress. We elected delegates to the CPSU congress in the knowledge that they would be discussing the establishment of a republic party, but we did not elect delegates to a constituent congress and did not authorize them to establish a party and elect its central organs. Many are demanding that the results of the congress simply be declared invalid. What is your opinion, Yuriy Anatolyevich?

[Prokofyev] I hope the people who feel that way will forgive my harsh words, but I would call their arguments bureaucratic games. This is exactly the kind of methods the old apparat employed until recently when it would grab something with its bureaucratic claws in an attempt to influence it just because it was not pleased with it.

Let us not forget that when the March CPSU Central Committee Plenum decided to hold a Russian party conference, it defined its agenda quite precisely. For this reason, when the Communists of the Russian Federation elected delegates to the CPSU congress and simultaneously to their own republic conference, they knew that the formation of a Russian communist party was on the agenda. The delegates, who were elected in line with the standard of representation—1 delegate for each 4,000 Communists—were authorized to make this decision.

Besides this, the formation of a Russian communist party was discussed at many regional party conferences. A special resolution was even passed at our Moscow city conference, calling upon all Muscovites and delegates to the Russian party conference to support the transformation of this conference into a constituent congress and the formation of a Russian communist party. The fact that we suggested that its central organs be elected during the second stage of the conference is a different matter.

I recently had a conversation with a comrade from the inter-club party group. He asked me the same question about the legality of the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party. I said to him: Be honest. If the results of the congress had been different, would you be asking this question? He answered that he would not. I think many people should answer the question themselves just as honestly.

Calling a decision illegal just because you do not like it is, in my opinion, unhealthy.

Why Was Perestroika Attacked?

[Yevseyev] Yuriy Anatolyevich, what do you think of the results of the Constituent Congress? Were you surprised by them?

[Prokofyev] The readers of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA probably remember—and from our conversations in particular—that just a short time ago I was completely against the formation of a Communist Party of the RSFSR because I felt that this would only intensify centrifugal tendencies in the society and create several new problems, such as problems with the status of the party organizations of Russia's autonomous territories, which would suddenly be faced by yet another level on the way to the center, to the party Central Committee. This would give the party a federalist nature, and I believed—and still believe!—that emerging from the country's present state of crisis will require a unified political force—the CPSU.

Events took a turn, however, which changed the situation. In spite of the negative effects I am still certain the formation of the RSFSR Communist Party will have on the political situation in the country, it had to be formed. First of all, a multi-party system was already becoming a reality in Russia, and under these conditions the absence of a republic Communist Party would mean the loss of political initiative. Second, Russia had declared economic and political sovereignty. This meant it also

needed a strong republicwide political organization. All of the new parties are still weak and do not have developed structures. Only a republic Communist Party could serve as this kind of strong political organization.

All of this outweighed my doubts about the formation of an RSFSR Communist Party. I was fully aware, however, that this would not be the Constituent Congress of a new communist party. This was not our intention. Unification was our only goal—the unification of the republic's regional party organizations in a single republic organization operating within the CPSU framework. Therefore, I did not expect the congress to go beyond the announcement of the creation of a republic Communist Party. And what else could I have expected when the preparatory work for the congress was kept to the bare minimum and was purely organizational? For this reason, I regard the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party only as a unifying congress.

[Yevseyev] Did it live up to your expectations in this respect?

[Prokofyev] In this respect, yes. The republic Communist Party was established.

[Yevseyev] And in all other respects?

[Prokofyev] People have recently had a great deal to say about the nature of this congress. There is probably no point in repeating what they have said and commenting on certain isolated incidents. I have already said that the situation in the society—the state of crisis resulting from our inherited problems and from the mistakes which were made during the perestroika period—could have caused a shift to the right, but what happened at the congress, in my opinion, exceeded all expectations.

Quite frankly, I simply did not expect the speeches of some delegates to reveal such ignorance of the processes occurring in the country or to hear what I would describe as their intense nostalgia for the past and strong attachment to the dogmatic interpretation of Marxist theory and to state-administrative socialism. This was a serious attack on the policy of perestroika from the right.

There is no question that the country's political leadership deserves criticism, just as all of us, the leaders of regional party organizations, deserve it. In this case, it seems to me that the criticism was directed not at specific errors and omissions, but at the very policy line, the very plans for the political and economic renewal of society, the new forces which want to democratize the party and restore its prestige in the eyes of the people, who definitely do blame the party for a great deal.

Unfortunately, this was one of the main results, and one of the most regrettable, of the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party.

[Yevseyev] The election of the leaders of the RSFSR Communist Party was also one of the principal results....

[Prokofyev] Yes, it was. Here the point of view of the Moscow city party conference and, consequently, the Moscow delegation at the congress diverged sharply from the position supported by the majority at the congress. We believed and still believe that elected bodies should have been formed during the second stage of the work, following the 28th CPSU Congress. This is what we decided in the city party organization and this is what we proposed at the Russian congress.

What were our reasons? The party does not have a firm and definite policy line yet. There are plans and policy documents, there are Central Committee statements, but a political platform and party charter have to be approved by a congress, and only by a congress. It was simply unwise and premature to personify the leadership of party organizations prior to this. We expressed this point of view at the congress, but we were supported only by a few delegations, which had decided, as we had, to nominate their representatives to the Russian Central Committee during the second phase of the work of the RSFSR Communist Party Congress.

Is There a Polozkov Party?

[Yevseyev] Yuriy Anatolyevich, it is no secret that many people today call the RSFSR Communist Party the "Polozkov Party," and in a clearly negative tone. After all, I.K. Polozkov recently began to personify the extreme right wing of the party along with Ye.K. Ligachev and Nina Andreyeva....

[Prokofyev] This is probably an exaggeration. As far as I know, I.K. Polozkov has never expressed the same views as Nina Andreyeva and has not supported her, but there is no question that he did become an odious figure after his well-known public statements. Incidentally, he realizes this himself. This is why he refused to accept the nomination at the convention of representatives, feeling that his election would complicate the situation in the republic and in the CPSU as a whole. It is not Polozkov's fault that the congress elected him first secretary of the RSFSR CP Central Committee.

[Yevseyev] It is not Polozkov's fault, but it is the congress' misfortune....

[Prokofyev] It is our common misfortune that we have an acute shortage of leaders.

[Yevseyev] Yuriy Anatolyevich, in this connection I have a question for you in your capacity as a member of the now defunct Russian Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee. How could the bureau not have discussed the possible leader of the new party before the congress? Is it possible that the bureau made no recommendations whatsoever?

[Prokofyev] This was discussed in the Russian Bureau and at the convention of representatives of congress delegations. The nominees included N.I. Ryzhkov and V.V. Bakatin. I, for example, am certain that if Bakatin

had not refused the nomination, the Russian Communists would have had an excellent leader.

[Yevseyev] Excuse me, Yuriy Anatolyevich, but it sounds rather odd to me that the Central Committee Bureau would recommend people for this kind of important office without even talking it over with them so that they would not refuse the nomination.

[Prokofyev] You are right. We did not do any real personnel work. The congress resolution said that the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee had not been doing satisfactory work. This is true. I must admit this and accept the criticism. On the other hand, this kind of bureau could not have been expected to do much. After all, it was formed at a Central Committee plenum instead of being elected by Russian Communists.

[Yevseyev] You have already said that you think the delegates to the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party reflected the alignment of forces among the Russian Communists in general. But can you predict what might have happened if a party referendum had been held throughout Russia on Polozkov's candidacy for the office of first secretary? Could he have won?

[Prokofyev] He could have won. After all, the situation in the Russian Communist Party today does not depend only on Moscow and Leningrad.

[Yevseyev] In this connection, what do you have to say about the proposals of several party organizations that the Moscow city CPSU organization not be part of the RSFSR Communist Party? Or the proposal that membership in the RSFSR Communist Party should be a matter of personal choice for each Communist? I will quote to you from a letter the editors received from Moscow State University scientific associate V. Privalov: "I did not join the Polozkov Party and I cannot see myself as a member of this party." I must say that many people are making this statement today. How do you feel about them?

[Prokofyev] I understand them, but I also feel obligated to warn Communists not to make any rash moves. What is the "Polozkov Party"? Is there one? Polozkov will not be the one to decide the nature of the RSFSR Communist Party. The work of the congress will enter its second phase, policy documents will be drawn up, and the formation of the Central Committee and Politburo will be completed. Then people can judge what kind of party it is. Furthermore, they can make this judgment not from the vantage point of an uninvolved bystander, but from the vantage point of Communists who cherish Russia and the party.

Yes, some people are advising the Communists of Moscow and Leningrad not to join this party, but just imagine what might happen if it is not joined by the organizations which might be slightly ahead in their democratization and politicization. Russia would have

the kind of party they wanted to form at the initiative congress in Leningrad—a party with a dogmatic Marxist outlook.

[Yevseyev] But perhaps there should be a party of this kind. If there are conservative Communists, or what we call rightwing Communists, they could have their own party, a rightwing party.

[Prokofyev] This could split the party, and this would be extremely undesirable at this time, particularly since it would not simply split the party into the “right wing” and “left wing.” It would be a regional split. It would break Russia into several pieces. Furthermore, it would separate much of the working class from the intelligentsia.

At this time we have to strive for the adoption of a democratic party charter and policy aims corresponding to the spirit of perestroika and exert as much influence as possible on the situation within the party by working in it, and not by resigning from it.

I can make this comparison: At one time the party organizations of Moscow State University, the Moscow Institute of Architecture, and some others were distinguished from the rest of the Moscow party organization by their more radical views and more democratic aims. At that time they were not always able to find a common language with the party gorkom, but what would have happened if they had withdrawn from the Moscow organization and formed their own mini-party? This only would have caused the Moscow party organization to regress. The fact that they remained part of this organization, worked in it, and publicized their own ideas eventually led to the progress of the entire city organization. There must always be advanced groups capable of bringing all the rest up to their level.

I would like to use your newspaper again to address all of the Communists in Moscow. I understand your feelings, but I ask you not to give in to your emotions. Let us take a sober look at the situation. This is the present alignment of forces in Russia. We must continue struggling for the democratization of the party and the institution of the necessary reforms instead of flying into a panic or striking attitudes. Otherwise, we might end up with something like the situation in the Russian story about the man who poked his own eye out so that his mother-in-law would have a one-eyed son-in-law.

Will There Be a Grand Confrontation?

[Yevseyev] Many of the questions in the letters to the editors concern two men—Yeltsin and Polozkov. Will this “grand confrontation” help to stabilize the situation in our republic? Will the two Russian leaders be able to work together?

[Prokofyev] It would probably be better to ask Boris Nikolayevich and Ivan Kuzmich these questions. I would also be greatly interested in their answers. Nevertheless, I will give you my opinion.

Some people are not happy that Yeltsin was elected chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet. Some people are not pleased to see Polozkov serving as first secretary of the republic CP Central Committee. Neither was elected by an overwhelming majority. In other words, the balance of power, or let us call it the relative strength of the “left wing” and “right wing,” is approximately equal. This is an extremely complicated and disturbing situation. Will it be simplified by what you refer to as a “confrontation” between the two leaders? Of course not. The opposite is much more likely.

[Yevseyev] In other words, you do not believe that we can count on the unity of opposites?

[Prokofyev] I would like to hope for this, to hope that both men will be able to rise above their personal likes and dislikes for Russia's sake. Furthermore, however odd this might sound, I think they have much in common, at least as far as their personalities are concerned. Both are singleminded, they are forceful and decisive, they are men of action. Perhaps this will promote a mutual understanding.

What Can Deliver Us from the Windbags?

[Yevseyev] Yuriy Anatolyevich, almost all of our conversation today has dealt with internal party affairs. This is understandable. The situation which took shape after the RSFSR CP Congress has heightened the readers' interest in this topic dramatically. But there is something else. A. Raskutin, a member of the CPSU since 1939, sent us a letter after he read the Position Paper of the Moscow City Party Organization. His letter, however, concerned more than just this document. “I see the Position Paper,” he wrote, “as a mandate, as the Moscow Communists' view of the essence of the problem, but it does not contain even the most elementary validation of the party's role and purpose under the new conditions or discuss its connection with the people and with all spheres of modern society. It conveys the impression that all of the work of the renewed party will be conducted within the party and will serve the interests of only Communists. In short, the party will exist for the party's sake.”

In fact, does this not seem to be the case? Just as our economy once worked for itself, now the party is concerned primarily with its own problems.

[Prokofyev] I agree that the party is preoccupied with its own problems to some extent. There are two reasons. First of all, different currents came into being within the party and are fighting each other for the assignment of priority to their point of view with regard to the development of the party and the society. This is diverting some of our energy, but I think this is unavoidable during a period of adjustment. The second reason is directly related to the amendment of the 6th article of the constitution. The party is accustomed to managing the economy directly, without any intermediaries. Now, under the new conditions, it still has not found ways of influencing decisions on socioeconomic matters.

I realize that few people will be satisfied with this explanation, but if the party does not elaborate its own socioeconomic policy and is unable to convince the society of the expediency of this policy and then has no opportunity to pursue this policy through Communists, through its representatives in government, the party will leave the political stage. It will simply be unnecessary. The stage will be occupied only by a party proposing a reasonable socioeconomic policy that appeals to the public, or to most of the public.

This is why we are now preparing proposals on the socioeconomic development of Moscow in the city party organization. In the final analysis, this is the main thing, and we realize that without this, we might turn out to be nothing more than political windbags.

[Yevseyev] There is not much time left before the 28th party congress. As you know, our editors asked several delegates to answer three questions in a pre-congress survey. We would like you to answer them too.

[Prokofyev] All right.

[Yevseyev] We hope to hear your answer to the first question—what would you say if you could address the congress?—from the podium. You are planning to speak?

[Prokofyev] I will ask for the floor.

[Yevseyev] Here is the second question: How would you assess the situation in the Moscow city party organization at this time?

[Prokofyev] I am not optimistic enough to call it good. Perhaps it could be called satisfactory. Yes, we have been able to avoid a split in the city party organization, but I am extremely disturbed by the tendency of the working class to leave the party. I am also disturbed by the fact that the city party organization still does not have a precise socioeconomic program of its own.

[Yevseyev] The third question concerns predictions regarding the party congress. Is a split inevitable?

[Prokofyev] To answer this question, I have to look back at how differently I imagined the Russian congress would go. For this reason, my view of the 28th congress is changing. I thought that the radical left wing would be most in favor of a split. It turned out I was wrong. It turned out that conservative forces were more active in their efforts to split the party. In view of this, I think that the center of gravity at the 28th congress might also shift in the direction of conservatism. I do believe, however, that the party will still be a single entity when the congress is over. It would be the gravest political error to split the party at the congress. I think it would be better for people to make up their own minds about the party later, during the free exchange of party documents. A maximum effort must be made to save the party. There is a chance of this. I feel that the "Democratic Platform" and the "Marxist Platform" are offshoots of the same stream. At the congress we must keep them from flowing

in different directions. We must cast aside purely theoretical differences of opinion and slightly different interpretations of development patterns and concentrate on what unites us. The interests of the entire country demand this.

[Yevseyev] Yuriy Anatolyevich, since you did not have to answer the editors' first question, may I ask you a couple of other questions?...

[Prokofyev] Please do.

[Yevseyev] As long as you are making predictions, please make another one. How many Communists might not reaffirm their commitment to the party during the post-congress exchange of party documents?

[Prokofyev] This is a difficult question, but I will take a stab at it. I think up to 30 percent of the party's members might resign.

[Yevseyev] There are many arguments now about whether people should hold top-level government and party positions simultaneously. There are also many arguments about the candidates for party leadership. What is your opinion?

[Prokofyev] In principle, I am against these simultaneous appointments. In addition to everything else, this is simply beyond the capabilities of a single individual. During the transition period, however, until the complete separation of party and soviet functions has taken place and until the new political structure is in place, I feel that these appointments are necessary. Otherwise, there could be a dangerous confrontation between the soviets and the party. For this reason, I would nominate the president of the country to serve as leader of the party. In addition, however, the party leadership should include an individual who would take charge of all daily work. His title is unimportant. He could be called a co-chairman, a deputy, or a first secretary....

[Yevseyev] Thank you, Yuriy Anatolyevich, for the interview. Allow me to wish you and the entire Moscow delegation success at the 28th party congress.

[Prokofyev] Thank you. Our next conversation will have to take place after the congress.

Travkin Comments on RSFSR Congress

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[Interview with Nikolay Ilyich Travkin, people's deputy of the USSR and people's deputy of the RSFSR, by correspondent Vladimir Glotov: "How the Chairman Was Elected"; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] [Correspondent] Nikolay Ilyich, I have one main question: How was the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet elected? What do you think of the events which took place at the congress?

[Travkin] Everyone knew what was at stake even before the congress began: As Russia goes, so goes the nation.

[Correspondent] Was there a real sense of this?

[Travkin] Yes, even during the campaign. And the feeling grew stronger when we met at the congress: We knew that we were not deciding only the future of Russia.

When we chose the chairman, we were choosing not the man, but a direction. If we chose one, Russia would move in the direction of emancipation, common sense, and a normal economy. We would move toward a normal human society. If we chose the other, we would move backward. There was also a third option: We could have left everything as it was.

The choice of candidates for the office of Supreme Soviet chairman underscored the fact that we would be choosing a direction. Yeltsin and Polozkov represented two extremes. If we chose Polozkov, we would move backward, into the authoritarian past, toward complete degradation. Polozkov worded his chief aim in this way: We are capable of taking the situation under control and leading Russia to the ideal state.

[Correspondent] Under control again? Under their control and toward their ideal?

[Travkin] Just as always.

The second point of view—Yeltsin's—is well known.

And Vlasov felt that there was a possibility of changing nothing. The Politburo had always installed its vice-regents in Russia. Here, if you please, was the latest vice-regent representing the Politburo.

[Correspondent] What was the exact apportionment of forces? Could you tell?

[Travkin] Various opinions were expressed during the elections as to how many conservatives and how many democrats there were....

Questionnaires indicated that 25 percent of the deputies were people who would not change their minds. They were the top level of the nomenklatura—party, soviet, and economic (because the rest could not be categorized as conservative)—and, of course, the top leadership of the republic, the KGB, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

This means that our potential consisted of the remaining 75 percent, and around 30-40 percent were people who had campaigned under the "Democratic Russia" slogan.

[Correspondent] Who were the other 35 percent of those who, as you said, were also potentially "ours"?

[Travkin] Workers, scientific and technical personnel, members of the intelligentsia, and journalists.

[Correspondent] What about, for instance, kolkhoz chairmen?

[Travkin] Certainly, although they did not campaign under the "Democratic Russia" banner, but it was impossible to say that all of them would push the same button as the obkom first secretary. I believe that the human being is independent by his very nature.

The first days of the congress proved that the prediction was accurate.

On the second day, when the agenda was being approved and when we had to decide whether we should hear the report or start the election right away, the odds were clearly in our favor: The overwhelming majority voted for the agenda proposed by "Democratic Russia." And it was approved in full.

More detailed calculations were conducted during the period of conflict. Do you remember? Lithuania, Travkin's speech, the clapping, the whistling, the noise in the back rows, the pressure of the bureaucrats, and the noisy euphoria which overtook the least restrained deputies and made them rise to their feet. Then there was the vote: Should Travkin be allowed to speak or not?

[Correspondent] And 499 said he should not.

[Travkin] Yes, but 458 said I should, and the 459th was standing on the podium, and this was half of the congress. The 499 who voted against me included those who might have been sitting next to obkom secretaries and had to vote against me because they were being watched. In all subsequent votes this half remained committed and gradually grew, with each day and with each vote.

This kind of contrast—half conservative and half radical—did not exist at the union congress. There it was impossible to single out any specific segment. Everything ran together, but here it was one solid wall facing another.

There seemed to be cause for celebration: Half of the congress was radical and democratic. Attitudes were changing, but it was also frightening to learn that the conservative stratum in Russia was so strong.

[Correspondent] Does the division at the congress reflect the actual alignment of forces in Russia, or did the election bring out extreme attitudes?

[Travkin] There is no definite answer. Society is changing and moving in a positive direction. If half of our society really did not want changes, not one reform would have been approved. Our society is beginning to accept new ideas. The need for a market economy has been acknowledged by the majority, but the means of establishing a market and the price some will have to pay for this are another matter. But even the realization that a market system is necessary is a sign of enlightenment! Just a few years ago, we could not even discuss the market without spitting.

[Correspondent] Can we assume that the conservative half at the congress is motivated by some kind of evil instincts?

[Travkin] I could not ascribe evil motives to the whole 50 percent who do not want anything to change. Of course, there are people who are against change because they realize that they will lose their status and power, and everything that goes with this, but there are also deputies who do not understand what is happening and do not want changes because they frankly cannot see the need for them.

I was intrigued, for example, by the reaction of two members of the upper echelon to the proposal regarding the wording of the agenda item on "people's control." It suggested that the simple wording "discussion of people's control" be substituted for "the approval of the People's Control Committee chairman." And Vasilii Ivanovich began to decipher this wording in all seriousness: How could this be? The people who suggest this wording must not understand.

I looked up to where Biryukova and Pugo were sitting in the president's box. Pugo seemed unruffled. Not one muscle in his face moved, but Biryukova's face came to life. I saw that she was explaining to Pugo that some deputies in the hall were questioning the need for people's control, that some were so peculiar that they were capable of putting the very existence of people's control in jeopardy!

I saw that people like Biryukova are frankly puzzled and cannot understand how the society could exist without people's control, but this did not even enter Vasilii Ivanovich's head. For them it is outright blasphemy to jeopardize the existence of people's control.

Then the congress unexpectedly approved the "discussion of people's control" wording.

[Correspondent] The wording of the "peculiar" deputies?

[Travkin] Yes, they voted for it. And this means that they did not simply cast doubts on the old wording, but also on the very validity of the authoritarian system, by questioning one of its fundamental institutions. After all, people's control could only come into being, exist, and have some kind of influence in a society with a bureaucratic structure. There has to be a party monopoly on power. The party alone is incapable of managing everything and installing its own vice-regents everywhere, not just sectorial and territorial vice-regents, but also guards. When the deputies criticized people's control, they were casting doubts on the innermost element of the party authoritarian system, on its main crutch. Without this crutch, how can the party apparat climb upward, issue orders, and inflict penalties?

This was the turning point at the congress, although people did not notice this at the time.

[Correspondent] Is it possible that some of those who voted in favor of the "discussion of people's control" wording were not fully aware that they were doing something good?

[Travkin] I admit it is possible that they saw no difference between "discussion of people's control" and "approval of the chairman," but most of them knew that the future existence of this institution was at stake. It was discussed at "Democratic Russia" conferences. People explained why the institution was unnecessary. If we institute financial and judicial control and there is a Department for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, why should this kind of party leverage be necessary?

The issue of Chikin, editor-in-chief of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, is an interesting example of the alignment of forces and an indication of how much more radical the Russian congress was than the union congress. After all, it was the first time in the history of congresses—party and trade-union congresses—that a person was not only not included in the administrative organ, but was actually excluded from the official list after having been included, as he was. This has never happened before. Once a person got into the administrative organ, he stayed there forever.

The combination of all these incidents led up to the election of a Supreme Soviet chairman in favor of change, and not in favor of regression or the preservation of the status quo.

Everything at the congress was influenced by the fact that 90 percent of the deputies were new. By voting against the official wording of the item, each deputy seemed to be asserting his own authority. This self-assertiveness was intensified and grew a thousand times as republic sovereignty on the agenda. I think some people still do not realize what they were voting for and still think that they were simply supporting the broader powers we were granted.... But I, for example, was voting for state sovereignty: Russia can make decisions on everyone and everything within its territory, in line with its own laws, and establish these laws, economic and political, like any other state.

I think the issue of Russian sovereignty will be one of the most serious points of conflict in the future work of the congress.

[Correspondent] But what about Yeltsin? What is his view?

[Travkin] Yeltsin naturally views sovereignty as state sovereignty, and not as a gift, a set of powers bestowed by the president.

[Correspondent] You have talked about the mood of the congress and how it was expressed at different times, but what about the manner in which it was conducted?

[Travkin] It was a lesson in classic bureaucratic procedure, in which the presiding official can drive the room to distraction simply because he is unaware of what is really going on but nevertheless continues following the prescribed pattern.

In my opinion, the most frightening moment arrived when Polozkov made his speech and then answered questions.

Polozkov was not only the apparat candidate and the spokesman for strict conservatism who reaffirmed his commitment to Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev. Some of his answers to questions also revealed so little awareness of economic affairs—incidentally, Vlasov also revealed this kind of ignorance—that the auditorium came alive with insight: We are wondering why we live so badly in a seemingly rich country, but how can we live well when people of this caliber have been ruling the country for decades? What hope is there for tomorrow if we entrust these people with power again today?

[Correspondent] Is this your own impression or are you expressing the feelings of those who were sitting with you in the auditorium?

[Travkin] I felt this way even before the union congress. It was at the union congress, when we were in the smoking room, that I could not hold it in any longer and exclaimed: "Friends, it is frightening to see what kind of people are governing us! What hope is there for the future?" This was a genuine discovery for me at that time. As a worker, I had regarded the people at the top as gods. I thought the people up there were extremely intelligent, much more intelligent than I, and I thought they would write extremely intelligent orders and directives and we would all then live a better life. Suddenly I realized that no one up there could write intelligent orders.

Now, at this congress, the Kuzbass miners arrived at the same realization. We were standing around and smoking when one of the strike leaders suddenly exclaimed: "What kind of people are governing us?!" It was a repetition of my own words. They had made the same discovery.

The proceedings of the congress were broadcast to the people of our country, and the whole country moaned: What kind of people are governing us? No, it was not gods we had, but a system, a system which could keep people in power not because of their intelligence, but only because of their loyalty—this was the problem. Anyone loyal to the system would be promoted rung by rung, all the way to the top. Sooner or later, these people would be the upper echelon, while we wondered why things did not go well for us.

I think this was a real discovery for many people.

[Correspondent] What else do you remember about the congress?

[Travkin] I have a good relationship with the workers. They think of me as one of their own, and I think of them as my people because I never had enough time to become alienated. I passed through these atmospheric strata very quickly, and I still view some things as a worker.

When I spoke in the Kuzbass, I ended my speech in this way: "Today you think of yourselves as the working class, but all of you are becoming more involved in politics, and if you plunge deeper and propose your own political pattern of social development, you will cease to be the working class, you will be written off as extremists, and people will say: No, this is not our working class, this is just a group of undesirable elements. As long as you lay bricks, turn the wheel, and dig out the coal without speaking, you are the working class. You are the supreme power. As soon as you enter politics and declare your right to influence events as the supreme power, you immediately become extremists."

The Russian congress confirmed this: This is the party apparat's attitude toward the workers. Until worker Bogayenko spoke, the party apparatchiks had beaten their breasts and cried out: How could the working class not win? Its advancement was impeded by the intelligentsia, these journalists! These professors! With their gabbing they kept the workers from achieving positions of power, but we party personnel support them wholeheartedly.

These same party personnel would not let worker Bogayenko speak. They drowned out his voice with their whistling 3 minutes into his talk. They stamped their feet. Then he saw the bared teeth that former worker Travkin had seen from the podium a few days before. All right, they wrote me off because they now think of me as an extremist, but what about Bogayenko, who is still a worker today? Is he another extremist like Travkin? Are most of the enlightened workers now "extremists"?

He was despondent when he walked away from the podium. It is a pity. After all, the term "working class" sounds so majestic. He had always been told: We are doing everything for you, only for you. For your sake!

He was not the only one who saw this. All of the workers saw it. When the Kuzbass workers and some other workers gathered together, Bogayenko was there too. The constituent conference of the Democratic Party was scheduled for Saturday and Sunday. There had been talks before this, but the Kuzbass workers had refused to take part in them: No, we just resigned from the CPSU and we have no wish to join any party. I said to them: "Boys, you will see for yourselves. I will not push you in any direction. You will walk up to me yourselves and tell me that there is no other solution. We need a party."

And they did walk up to me and say: "That is enough, we do not need any more convincing. We can see for ourselves that there is no other solution. We need a party." There is no other way of dealing with this monolith. No movement or trade union can do it, only a strong party with strong structures.

[Correspondent] You mean they understood what was happening and did not want to be workers in the decorative sense who simply play the role? They wanted to be real workers with a real policy?

[Travkin] With real influence. And to have real influence, they have to be organized. They have to have a party.

[Correspondent] Do any members of the intelligentsia belong to the new party?

[Travkin] Of course. Most of the party members are from the intelligentsia.

[Correspondent] How many members are there now?

[Travkin] It is not time yet to speak of members. There was a constituent conference. There were 322 delegates. They are backed up by people. Some are backed up by around 20 and some are backed up by 200. At this time we have to come to a final decision on the structure and register these people. They represent virtually every region in the republic.

[Correspondent] What are their chief aims and resources?

[Travkin] First of all, their chief aim is not a fight with the CPSU. Forming a party to fight with someone is senseless. The party has a precise goal. I would call the Democratic Party the party advocating a return to common sense, a return by the whole society, and this is extremely important: We will be forming a party for the transition period.

All of the parties which are being established today make the appropriate declarations of their goals and resources. All of them are for democracy, but the members live and act as if the society is already new and as if they are operating in this new democratic society. We, on the other hand, are a party for the transition period. We must build this new society. We will pave the way from the society with the crippled mentality to the society with the normal mentality. To this end, the party must include enlightenment among its functions. We must explain, especially to the workers, that the United Labor Front is still trying to deceive us with all of the talk about exploitation, private ownership, millionaires who will buy up everything tomorrow, commercial enterprise, and so forth. We must debunk the communist ideology that led us to the verge of collapse and explain that social justice cannot be achieved through universal collectivization to the point of property owned by no one. It ultimately belongs to someone and is accompanied by the system of distribution, wage leveling, and everything we already have. Of course, this will be a fight with the CPSU in the ideological sphere, but it will be a fight within the structures of parliament. We are categorically opposed to weapons. We are sensible people, and we have enough common sense to accomplish the election of our deputies, receive mandates, form executive bodies, and implement our reforms through them. We are a parliamentary party and we will employ only parliamentary methods.

Because we are a parliamentary party, there is the guarantee that we will not turn into the same kind of

monster as the CPSU. Let us assume that we propose a program and you support us. If we do not justify your confidence and live up to your expectations, in the next election you will not vote for us, and we will leave the political stage. No one will have to struggle against us, and we cannot turn into a state party.

[Correspondent] What do you advocate?

[Travkin] A society living by the laws of common sense. We support everything that is being declared in democratic institutions today. A market economy? Fine and good. But we propose our own mode of transition to it. It is different from the one proposed today by the government under the leadership of the CPSU. We are certain that Russia can make the move to the market today without hurting a single individual, even at the moment of transition. We are not Poland. Poland has nothing. It needs a government people can trust, and people are willing to be patient for a long time once they have extended this trust.

We also need trust. This is why we elected Yeltsin, who does have the people's trust. But we wonder why the efforts to restore order in pricing procedures will necessarily entail tax increases. Why does this have to begin with higher taxes? No, we feel that taxes can be lowered.

[Correspondent] Where will you get the resources? Where will you get the money?

[Travkin] Primarily from the military-industrial complex. For some reason, the Ryzhkov government does not plan to take a single kopeck from there, but we will, and we will certainly take money from the state programs which will never do the individual any good—from all of the programs to make rivers run counterclockwise, to drain the swamps, and to build hundreds of plants using old technology. We will use all of the resources of state programs for the good of the individual.

After we have done this, we will look and see if there is enough to change pricing procedures and institute automatic wage increases. Not enough? Where else can we get money?

We should stop engaging in philanthropy all over the world just because people cannot spit on our communist ideology while we are feeding them.

[Correspondent] Are you suggesting a renunciation of ideologized symbols?

[Travkin] We should also take back the money that is being used for the maintenance of unnecessary staff, for all of this "people's control." The entire superfluous staff exists only because the Communist Party is in power, in the economy as well as elsewhere. It propagated all of this.

Still not enough? We should untie the hands of the entrepreneur. For this we will have to stop shuddering at the sound of such terms as "private ownership" and the

suggestion that "Russia is being sold." People forget who owns a firm and they do not even care who owns it as long as there are goods on store shelves, goods of high quality at affordable prices. We should become part of the world economy, and without rending the air with horrible exclamations. We should even go as far as granting concessions. There is nothing frightening about this. If we pump oil with a Russian pump and then take it all the way to the border only to learn that we are already operating at a loss, might it not be better to use ecologically clean technology and get a much higher price?

What I am trying to say is that integration processes and unrestricted commercial enterprise represent tremendous potential opportunities for Russia. We are hoarding useful resources and letting them turn into crap, saying that we cannot sell them because they are strategic resources. The government's current interpretation of strategic reserves is the following: So what if we do not need them and if they spoil? If they would buy them, if they need them, if they would become stronger as a result of this, the resources are strategic. It would be better to let everything spoil as long as they do not get any stronger.

In the political sphere we say that we are moving toward disarmament, but in the economic sphere we base our policy on the pledge that "we will not allow it."

This began with Vadim Tumanov's crew and moved on to Artem Tarasov's cooperative. The same kind of provocation was practiced in the case of the Association for National Trade. It was meant to convince people that the state monopoly on foreign economic operations was the most ethical form of enterprise, but the state was robbing and ruining the country with its foreign economic operations all the while.

Therefore, we should untie the hands of the entrepreneur. Still not enough? We will have to resort to denationalization, including privatization. Why does our state have to own all of the beauty parlors? Why do they have to be under the jurisdiction of trusts, main administrations, and ministries? Let the people who work there buy them. If they have no money, we should sell the businesses to them on credit. If they do not want to buy them on credit, let them lease them and pay for them that way. The state should not be subsidizing them or keeping them afloat with allotments. Privatization can generate colossal resources, including land. Yes, it would be a sin to force the peasant who lives on the land to pay for it. He should get the land for free and should also get some additional payment and interest-free credit for a car, a garage, and a house as long as he keeps working. But what about vacation lots? Will people buy them? They will be happy to buy them. Land is not the most expensive commodity in the world, but it is the most popular. I will pay 100 rubles for a tiny piece of land or 50 rubles for swampland, as long as I know that it is mine and I know that the chairman of the rural soviet cannot come to me and say: "I have decided to put in a sewer

system here." Put it in if you want, but pay me. And I will set the price, because it is mine.

All of this will amount to billions! It is ridiculous to say that we do not have the means to stabilize the ruble or institute price reform. We have the most secure currency in the world. The dollar is not secure because everything there has been sold. The homes, the factories, and the land have been sold. In our country nothing has been sold, on the other hand, but we are saying that the ruble is unsecured.

It is secured, but we have to surmount ideological stereotypes. It is as if common sense is telling us to move, but ideology is telling us to stand still.

In metaphorical terms, I would compare this to a prison. We have been let out of our cells. The walls of the prison consisted of so-called communist ideals: "Class values are superior to common human values," "confrontation is unavoidable," "the world will attack us"...and so forth. Gorbachev broke down these walls. Instead of class values, we have common human values and a peaceful policy. The world took notice of this: Look, they are starting to come down out of the trees and they already sound almost human.

We have been released from our cells, but we are still on the prison grounds. We have been presented with democracy and glasnost and have been told that we can say anything, see anything, and go anywhere. Everyone is hopping around in the prison compound, but there is a barbed-wire fence—consisting not of communist values this time, but of pseudo-socialist values. "Beware of exploitation!" "Beware of private ownership!" There are towers at the corners of the fence, and party apparatchiks with megaphones stand in the towers and shout: "Do not go outside the fence. Capitalism is out there! Here, inside the compound, there is socialism, and we will renovate it." Extremists are arguing that there is too little ideological space within the compound—not enough room to encourage the individual to take an interest in his work, not enough room to set up a market economy. The fence will have to be crossed! The men in the towers tell them: "No, our people will not cross the fence, and no one is allowed to knock the fence down. Everything has to stay within socialist boundaries!"

This is our present dilemma. It is the duty of the new party to knock the fence down. It must break through the fence on the ideological front. It must remove the people with megaphones from the towers and unseat them.

These are the conclusions I drew from the Russian congress. This is also the function of the congress.

[Correspondent] One of the main phases—the election of the chairman—is over. The democratic forces won.

[Travkin] Yeltsin was elected by the public, not by the congress. The apparatchiks who voted for Yeltsin did not do it because they fell in love with him during those few days. They received thousands of telegrams supporting

him, and, after all, all deputies do go home and see how people there feel. If each deputy had conscientiously allowed the people to decide the choice of the chairman, Yeltsin would have been elected by a majority. He would have won more than 60 percent of the vote. Only he has the people's trust. These young men from the apparat knew perfectly well that anyone they chose from the old team would not have the trust of the people and would not be able to carry out a single reform. This would escalate tension and cause a rebellion, and they were afraid of this because a rebellion would sweep all of them out of office. The telegrams all said the same thing, whether they came from Donetsk, Vorkuta, the Kuzbass, or Krasnodar: If you do not choose Yeltsin, we will go on strike! The people made their feelings known, and they would have been justified in going on strike: Why didn't you vote the way we asked you to? This fear, the fear that the wave from below would sweep them away, the fear that they would sooner or later have to get off the plane or the train and face the voters, the fear that these walls would not last a lifetime and that they could not hide behind the walls, not in Moscow or behind the walls of obkoms—all of this is what revived the common sense of a specific segment of the apparat.

Mossoviet Deputies on RSFSR CP Congress

90UN2273A Moscow *VECHERNAYA MOSKVA*
in Russian 28 Jun 90 p 2

[Statement by Mossoviet Deputies' Fact Known as Democratic Platform for the CPSU: "Where Are We Being Pushed To?"]

[Text] We, the people's deputies of the Mossoviet who are members of the faction known as the "Democratic Platform," in connection with the end of the conference held by the Russian communists and the founding of the RSFSR CP, hereby state the following:

The Russian party conference, which, in fact, turned out to be a conference of the apparatus which is responsible for the country's crisis, was conducted under the aegis of the opposition to the radical renovation of our society. Resounding in most of the speeches by the delegates was a frank attempt to torpedo the course aimed at perestroika, democratization, and making the transition to a market-type economy.

This forum, which was transformed from a conference into a Constituent Congress, did not have the powers to do this from those communists who had been elected as delegates to the Russian Party Conference and the 28th CPSU Congress. Such a scenario for the conference was needed by the right-wing forces in the party on the eve of the 28th CPSU Congress in order to consolidate themselves, to evolve their organizational shape, and, by having a majority at the congress, to attempt to replace the progressive leaders in the CPSU, and to overturn the democratic changes in our society.

In connection with what was stated above,

1. We do not recognize the decision taken by the conference with regard to constituting it as the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR CP;

2. We refuse to join the newly founded party or to subordinate ourselves to the decisions of the RSFSR CP Central Committee;

3. We understand that the leading organs of the RSFSR CP are being created as a counterweight to the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies;

4. We oppose the routine, mechanical enrollment and registration of all Russian communists in the illegally founded RSFSR CP, and we are reporting about the individual and collective registration of the "Democratic Platform's" followers. As a result of this, it is necessary to conduct a division of property belonging to the Russian communists. We support the decision taken by the Second All-Union Conference of the "Democratic Platform's" followers concerning the transfer of most of the CPSU's property to the Soviet of People's Deputies;

5. We address a proposal to the Mossoviet deputies that they should examine and consider the issue of the unfeasibility or impossibility of siting the central organs of the RSFSR CP in Moscow;

6. We call upon all Muscovites who are CPSU members to think again about the matter of membership in the RSFSR CP, the party of Polozkov, Andreyeva, and Ligachev;

7. We do not wish to be sponsors of a new public organization with regard to whose founding no interest was shown in our opinion; and we are ceasing to contribute our membership dues until these organizational matters are resolved. We call upon all Mossoviet members who are CPSU members, as well as Muscovites who are followers of the "Democratic Forum," to follow our example.

Dementey on Belorussian Sovereignty

90UN2524A Minsk *SELSKAYA GAZETA* in Russian
13 Jul 90 p 3

[Interview with N.I. Dementey, chairman of the BSSR Supreme Soviet, by unidentified BELTA correspondent: "The Republic's Sovereignty: Actual, Not Declarative." Date, place not given. First paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Republic newspapers recently published a note by people's deputy and Chairman of the BSSR Supreme Soviet N.I. Dementey on the republic's state sovereignty. This was distributed as an official document at the session of the BSSR Supreme Soviet. It evoked considerable interest by its novel, unusual approaches. In response to numerous questions, a BELTA correspondent interviewed N.I. Dementey.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] Nikolay Ivanovich, in your note you pose many questions regarding the republic's sovereignty in a fundamentally new manner. What is the reason for such a radical approach?

[Dementey] At the level of everyday consciousness the meaning of the concept of sovereignty has been somewhat erased with us. Not everyone by far has an idea today of what it actually means. But in fact sovereignty is nothing other than the leadership of the republic, its independence in solving the basic questions of internal and external life, in the field of governmental, economic and social-cultural construction. To ensure that these categories are implemented in daily life, based on the republic's present condition, radical measures are indispensable. Yet nonetheless I would prefer not to use the words "radical measures." A comprehensive, considered, scientific approach to this problem is needed.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] In familiarizing myself with your note, I discovered that certain provisions regarding sovereignty exist in the BSSR Constitution. Isn't moving them from the Constitution to a declaration to some extent repeating what has been done? What is the real meaning of this?

[Dementey] This is not a simple question. There are several provisions of the Constitution without which we cannot talk about sovereignty, be it that of the Belorussian SSR or of another state. Consequently, to adopt a declaration on the sovereignty of the Belorussian SSR these constitutional norms must be mentioned. But taken together, they are inadequate to ensure the Belorussian republic's position as a truly sovereign state. This means that the range of these guarantees must be substantially widened, which is done in the document you mention. That is first of all.

Second, and most important, it is necessary to ensure not simply the sovereignty of the Belorussian SSR, which after all is formally proclaimed at a constitutional level. As we now know, relatively speaking there are formal and actual constitutions. According to earlier stereotypes, we were told (by various methods and rather effectively) that constitutions of the first type—formal—are typical of only bourgeois society. But life puts everything in its proper place. And we now see that the label "formal" is very applicable to our constitutional lawmaking.

Without denying the fact that many of the provisions embodied in the USSR and BSSR Constitutions are rather progressive, one cannot fail to recognize the declarative nature of those which lack real content and "don't work." This fully applies, for example, not only to ensuring a series of human rights and other important institutions of social life, but also to the sovereignty of the Belorussian SSR. Consequently, the basic accent of my statement to the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR is on ensuring precisely the actual, not declarative

independence of the republic, on ensuring its leadership in solving the basic questions of internal and external life.

I will not list examples to show the practically complete absence of this independence. They would fully comprise all the most important aspects of the life of the Belorussian people. Despite the USSR Constitution's official recognition of union republics as sovereign socialist states, in literature, in the periodical press and in people's daily contacts practically no one ever says "Belorussian state." Everyone says "Belorussian republic." As though they are the same, but not quite. The term "Belorussian republic" is not associated among the general public today with the term "Belorussian state." A small nuance, but it says a great deal.

I think our primary task is to give to Belorussian national statehood an actual meaning, not just a formal one.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] Yes, but why do you believe that precisely this is the primary task of the Supreme Soviet? Some people think that despite all the importance of this question there are others more important, such as overcoming stagnation phenomena in the economy.

[Dementey] Without question, this is a very important question, one which cannot be put off. And from the standpoint of our classical canons, which state that the economy is the foundation determining the nature and content of relations in the superstructure, it should apparently be: first, let's take care of the economy, then we can solve other questions: state independence, cultural development and so on. But this is a simplified approach. We must not forget that such an understanding of the relation between the foundation and the superstructure is extremely one-sided, and very relative.

I think we should also proceed from the reverse influence of the superstructure on the foundation, including an element of it such as the state. And can it then be denied that possessing the totality of state power makes it possible to direct the development of productive relations on another path than it was on beforehand?

What is urgent today in the economic arena? I am not mistaken if I say that it is to create, not in words but in deeds, the conditions to ensure the genuine economic independence of the producer, the comprehensive protection of the consumer's interests, the elimination of all types of monopolism, the extensive development of healthy entrepreneurship, etc. Obviously, these questions can only be solved by possessing true sovereignty. Belorussia does not yet have it, and we cannot solve these questions at a qualitatively new level.

Here is a confirmation. According to many indices of economic development, in industry, and agriculture, and management where I previously worked, our republic without exaggeration is not in a bad position. But at the present level of our independence in the Union of the SSR, no matter how much the Belorussian people might

increase production output, no matter how much they might lower production costs, all the republic's efforts can be reduced to nothing by a few unsuccessful and irresponsible decisions of the so-called center.

Let's look at the last few years. With a general correct idea of the transition to a market with guarantees of the proper level of social protection for the population, many concrete decisions were unsuccessful. These included the removal of control over the growth of wages and prices when all other elements of the new economic mechanism were not actually developed, and were even restrained. All this had a negative effect on the output of goods and foodstuffs.

The state's role was not ensured, which it must play under conditions of genuinely commodity-monetary, cost-accounting relations in the economy; namely, strict control over the observance of consumer parameters on product quality, and regulation of production volumes by economic, not administrative methods; in particular, by establishing stimulative incomes, taxes, interest rates, etc. Without denying all the complexity and uniqueness of the problem of shifting to a market, it is clear that without a clear plan or the resolve to ensure it we cannot do what we have done in our country regarding the production of a money supply not backed by goods.

If the structure of capital investments is not reviewed, it is clear that the consumption fund can be increased only by the amount of the growth in national income obtained. It is naive to assume that the population's living standard can be improved only by issuing additional currency.

So tell me, can we now hope that in the future the center's entire economic policy will become exclusively rational? There are no such guarantees as yet.

The union government's latest measures for a transition to a market force us to doubt whether it is capable of doing this in a sufficiently optimal manner. A sharp rise in prices and a simultaneous drop in living standards, which are not excluded, are unacceptable for the simple reason that there are many ways of avoiding such inhuman measures. And the same is true of all other questions: raising scientific potential, further development of the agrarian, industrial and construction sectors, the social sphere and culture: they cannot be solved directly in the republic without true sovereignty.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] Nikolay Ivanovich, a commentary in the periodical press stated that the majority of the BSSR Supreme Soviet accepted the necessity of adopting the Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Belorussian SSR after an instruction "from above"; that supposedly the "group of deputies of the Democratic Bloc" had previously proposed that the sovereignty question be included in the republic Supreme Soviet's agenda. What can you say about this?

[Dementey] Yes, in fact this was mentioned in the first days of the session's work. I also talked about the

republic's sovereignty in my speech before being elected Chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Moreover, this problem concerned me earlier, in my previous work. But as a political official I could only pose the question officially—i.e., introduce the corresponding documents for consideration by a higher body of the republic such as the BSSR Supreme Soviet—when the course of the political reform demonstrated that this is a real, feasible step, not an idea for the sake of an idea.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] On the basis of what facts did you conclude that the time was right to introduce your note, which perhaps lays claim to being the basis for the declaration?

[Dementey] Under the conditions of perestroyka, more and more such facts accumulated with each day. For example, on April 26, 1990 the USSR Law on Delimiting Competences Between the Union of the SSR and the Federation Subjects was adopted at the union level. I will not describe it, but I will say right out that it does not do much to ensure the genuine independence of the union republics; it is not permeated with a recognition of their true sovereignty. This is even more true for the previously adopted USSR Laws "On the General Foundations of Local Self-Management and Local Administration in the USSR" and "On the Foundations of Economic Relations of the Union of the SSR and Union and Autonomous Republics." But we are supposed to build our relations with the center according to them.

Take the same question of the economic reform, the transition to a market. It was basically given to the union republics for consideration only after it had in fact failed in the national Supreme Soviet, even though this had adopted the formal decision to approve the draft introduced by the USSR government. But such a fundamental reform should start with its discussion locally, directly in the republics, and then be resolved at the Union level.

And other questions as well. For example, the preparation of the draft of the new USSR Constitution. This is clearly a very important document, laying out the basic aspects of our life for many decades ahead, including in the area of the national governmental structure. But are there many legal scholars from the union republics taking part in developing this and many other laws of the USSR, including those affecting the republics? In only isolated and rare cases.

And there are other examples of the continuing condescending approach of the center's representatives to relations with the republics. And not those of Russia, of the Russian people, who themselves feel all the consequences of this policy, but representatives of the center who no longer recognize that it is precisely the union republics which give the Union of the SSR appropriate rights, not the reverse.

Having weighed everything, I have thus concluded that without radical steps by the republics to ensure their own sovereignty the center will continue its administrative

approach to the republics, which is often naked administration. That is why I made my statement to the BSSR Supreme Soviet, considering all other possibilities to be exhausted.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] In your note, Nikolay Ivanovich, you mention state sovereignty. But there is also the sovereignty of a people, national sovereignty. What is the relation between the concepts of state sovereignty and the sovereignty of a people? Is the latter ensured if the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the BSSR is adopted?

[Dementey] Without question, there must be a clear statement in the declaration that the Belorussian state recognizes, respects and, moreover, is based on the sovereignty of the Belorussian people. The bitter lessons of our state's past require that such measures be taken. And in general, the time has come to give up the one-sided understanding of the state as an apparatus of force, a special truncheon, a machine for suppression, etc. The state in a civilized, highly developed and legal society is something else, ensuring the interests of all citizens. It is a weapon of their social protection.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] As I understand, your concept of state sovereignty, Nikolay Ivanovich, while elevating to a high plane questions of ensuring the independence of the Belorussian republic, also does not exclude its entry into the Union of the SSR, albeit under fundamentally new conditions.

[Dementey] Yes, that's right. I hope that we can create a union of our republics in which they will be truly equal and sovereign. I'm not talking about the voluntary nature of accession to the union. The creation of a new union must start precisely with its voluntary nature. The procedure for declaring such voluntariness must be worked out by the republic itself.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] So there are problems in the area of legal and actual equality of the union republics?

[Dementey] Unfortunately, yes. And they have gotten worse of late. For example, take the country's highest organ of state power. It has now become the Congress of People's Deputies, where its composition reflects the numerical composition of the republics' population, and where the republics with the larger populations are dominant. I think an entirely new—in terms of organizational form—higher organ of state power of the future union of sovereign states is needed, in which these states, the present republics, would receive legally equal possibilities in solving the matters under their jurisdiction. Without this, I don't think there can be a new union.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] And as regards the actual equality of the republics?

[Dementey] Here the question is perhaps more complicated. For the most varying factors an extremely unfavorable situation has formed: subjectivism and voluntarism in the distribution of productive forces, setting of

prices for produced (exported) and consumed (imported) products, and definition of the sources and amounts of contributions to the budget; natural geographic conditions; and several others. Some regions and republics in their corresponding indices of economic, social and cultural development substantially—sometimes by two times and more—exceed or lag behind other regions and republics.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] Evidently, the question of what authority to give to the union and which to leave to the republics will have to be resolved on the path to forming a new union of sovereign states?

[Dementey] If we deal with the practical side of the question of the future union treaty, then this is one of its central features. Above all, we must not be guided by the notorious principle of democratic centralism. In a literal sense, as embodied in Article 3 of the current USSR Constitution, this principle promises nothing good for not only the republics, but for any administrative-territorial entities. I approach this principle solely from the standpoint of the organization of management, which means the distribution of authority, including between the Union of the SSR and the republics.

In this fashion, the principle of democratic centralism in the context in which it is contained in the Constitution speaks of the mandatory nature of the decisions of higher bodies for lower ones. That is its essence, although there is a stipulation regarding the combination of single rule (again single!) with local initiative and creative activity. So does this mean that centralism in general, without the democratic stipulation, does not take into consideration particular local features? It does, because otherwise it cannot be used by any system. One would think that the distribution of authority between the Union of the SSR and the union republics must be based not on centralism, even democratic. The basis for delimiting functions and authority between their bodies must be the principle of the optimal relation of centralization and decentralization. This means: solving all problems which can be decentralized without harming the common good. There must be immediate decentralization; i.e., these questions must be transferred from the control of the Union of the SSR to that of the republics.

The current situation in this respect is primarily characterized by the concentration of a huge mass of questions, and not just basic ones, at the level of the Union of the SSR. Much has been said and written about this. But I cannot without bitterness note that until the present a republic's higher bodies of state power and management could resolve an extremely limited range of questions, especially those related to natural resources, finances and others.

Yet one of the basic rules of any scientifically organized management is: only those questions should be transferred upwards which cannot be resolved effectively enough at the local level. And this rule has been practically not in force with us.

The USSR is not a unitary government; according to the Constitution, it is federative. Consequently, as subjects of a federation, and sovereign ones, the republics should have a greater range of authority than component parts of a unitary state. In a new union of sovereign states, their rights in the management of governmental, economic and social-cultural construction must be extremely broad and, of course, real.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] Fine, but what specific questions can be transferred to the Union?

[Dementey] I think they should be substantially limited. The economic, manpower and other potential of the union republics today is such that they can themselves solve all basic questions of their own economic, technical, scientific, cultural, social and other development. I therefore believe that national defense questions could be given directly to the Union of the SSR's control. As to internal security, the republics should themselves resolve these questions in all forms. For example, we are firmly opposed to using military personnel drafted from Belorussia to militarily solve problems in other republics. The BSSR Supreme Soviet has already issued a statement on this topic, and evidently the time is approaching for our government to undertake practical steps to implement it.

By the way, the transfer to the Union of the SSR of national defense questions does not exclude republics from having their own military units, especially since we have such an historical precedent. But in any case it does not make sense to disperse the backbone of the USSR Armed Forces in national quarters. And in general, giving up the framework of a single defense system is undesirable in another sense as well; in particular, from the standpoint of ensuring the inviolability of the country's borders.

As to other questions, such as railroad and air transport, and the solution of large-scale programs of an economic, scientific-technical or social nature, they must be carefully studied. These must be based on the opinions of experts from the appropriate fields of science, including experts on management organization, national relations and others. But in any case the range of questions transferred by the republics to the Union must be first, limited, and second, comprehensive.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] What's your attitude towards the idea of so-called joint competence of the Union and republics? Wasn't this idea in one of its practical implementations a means for the actual deprivation of union republics' rights?

[Dementey] It was, in fact. There are not very many sectors and facilities of the national economy of a directly nationwide importance; i.e., legally and actually taken from republics' management. Yet the overwhelming majority of them are now under so-called joint management of the Union and republics. But the entire essence of this form of distribution of competence has consisted of concentrating in the management of the

USSR organs the basic, key questions: planning, material-technical supply, and others. The bodies of the union republics, particularly union-republic ministries, agencies and organizations, were part of the single system of corresponding union-republic bodies of the USSR, over which they had only negligible influence. So I am against joint competence of the Union and republics. There must be a firm definition of which questions the republics transfer to the Union's management and which they can solve themselves.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] How do you feel about the existing authority of the organs of the Union of the SSR to adopt basic legislation of the Union of the SSR and union republics on a rather wide range of issues?

[Dementey] On certain issues, the Union's right to issue such basic laws should be embodied in a new union treaty. But here again, the range of these questions must be substantially narrowed. Take, for example, the corresponding articles of the BSSR Constitution, where it states that the Belorussian SSR manages land, housing and communal services, public education, public health, culture, etc. Evidently, everything is resolved correctly. But in fact? First of all, corresponding basic laws are adopted at the level of the Union of the SSR. These legal acts contain the basic parameters for solving the corresponding questions in the republics as well, beyond which the latter may not go. Second, for a whole series of the above problems given by republics' constitutions to their direct management, USSR organs are created to direct these sectors, which also unjustifiably limits the republics' actual possibilities.

Overall, almost everywhere there is a clear tendency at the Union of the SSR level to dictate to the republics how they should live. And unfortunately, this is continuing. And much of it at the expense of direct ties between republics.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] How can we get away from this? How and in what form should direct economic relations be established between republics?

[Dementey] I think that at the legal level this is first of all through agreements between them and economic units. Appropriate measures to maintain or alter the economic condition of various republics will evidently be done to some extent by the Union and its budget. By the way, the economic independence of republics assumes also their right to prohibit the export of products from their territory if this damages the republic's interests, especially its vital interests. This is a customary practice in interstate commercial relations. A state, and thus a union republic as well, can in certain cases exercise such limited rights of property control. It is a different issue that such measures must primarily be carried out using economic methods: setting appropriate tariffs, customs duties, etc.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] In your concept of the sovereignty of the Belorussian SSR, attractive provisions are that all facilities of the national economic complex

situated in a republic's territory are the property of its people, that the republic owns all its resources and that no one has the right to use a republic's territory for any purposes without the consent of its people. Aren't our claims excessive, to put it mildly?

[Dementey] I don't think so. The talks now underway at the Union of the SSR level on the national property on the union republics' territory, meaning property which supposedly does not belong to the republics, are unfounded for a whole series of reasons. First of all, if the construction of certain facilities is financed from the union budget this does not mean that the facility does not belong to the republic. After all, the union budget is formed from funds provided by specific union republics. Taking into consideration the imperfection in current prices for goods produced and supplied, the arbitrary nature of setting the sources and amounts of contributions to the state budgets at all levels, and the substantial subjectivism in solving questions of the siting of national economic projects, it is impossible to state today which republic has contributed how much to creating the country's national economic complex.

Let's put it this way: each union republic has made its contribution to creating this complex, and thus to creating the economies of all the republics. Everyone, in turn, has contributed their part to forming the economy of a given specific republic. So the most rational starting point today is that all national economic facilities located on a republic's territory, except for the property of foreign citizens and companies, are its property; i.e., the property of its people or individual citizens. In general, there is no national property without the presence of a percentage of republics' ownership.

Moreover, it must be taken into consideration that when the decisions were taken to classify various projects as nationwide ones, this was done without the republics' consent. In fact, no one asked them.

As to natural resources—land, water, forests, etc.—in a republic's territory, I think the question here is quite clear: only its people have the right to decide questions of their use. Moreover, thought must be given to the possibility of reacting to actions which occur not in a republic's territory, but which create a real threat to the people's vital interests and can be considered a direct interference in their future.

I have in mind the Chernobyl catastrophe: it did not take place in our territory, but the consequences of this terrible catastrophe fall primarily on Belorussia. In general, thought must be given to an effective mechanism of preventive protection from possible consequences of this type. It is not a simple question, but it is clear that it is easier to forestall a disaster than to get rid of its consequences.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] What do you think about the right of union republics to leave the USSR?

[Dementey] I am very much in favor of this right. And I think that not the Union, but the republic itself should define the conditions and mechanism for its departure from the Union of the SSR; this ensues from its sovereignty. It is true that a republic should define these conditions before entering the Union; after all, they could be such that other members of the federation will not agree to them. But I think that a new union of sovereign states can be created, and a new union treaty signed, only on the basis of a consensus of all the subjects of the federation on all principal provisions of this treaty.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] Nikolay Ivanovich, in closing I will allow a joke, without referring specifically to one of the deputies, who stated as follows: "If Nikolay Ivanovich thinks so radically about the question of the state sovereignty of the Belorussian republic, then I can't understand why he is still not in the Belorussian Popular Front?"

[Dementey] Well, I don't see particular grounds for joking here. In fact, BPF representatives have advanced a series of fundamental, progressive proposals in this direction. And, as Chairman of the BSSR Supreme Soviet, I think such proposals on their part (by the way, I don't want any delimitation) should be taken into consideration. I am ready for constructive cooperation with all healthy democratic forces, especially if this cooperation is expressed in specific action for the good of our people.

Furthermore, I would like to direct your attention to the fact that many other deputies of the BSSR Supreme Soviet also express progressive ideas and proposals. Our common duty is to note and actively support them. In general, I think the primary thing is not which group a given deputy belongs to, but what position he holds in each specific case.

We badly need agreement on a genuinely humanistic platform, the center of which will be man with his varied needs, with the possibility for his self-expression in the most diverse fields of life. One of the most important conditions for the Belorussian people's attaining social progress and prosperity is constructive cooperation of all democratic forces of the republic in realizing such a platform, regardless of which social-political movement they belong to, or which social or professional stratum of society they represent.

[SELSKAYA GAZETA] And one final question, Nikolay Ivanovich. Let us assume, and of this I have little doubt, that the session of the BSSR Supreme Soviet adopts the Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Republic. Our people's welfare will not rise sharply as a result. What will independence really provide in the area of improving people's material standard of living?

[Dementey] Yes, you're entirely correct. The declaration is a political document. The situation in our consumer's market will naturally not improve right away from its adoption. But nonetheless, we must not miss the main

point. By obtaining true independence, we open up the way to greater efficiency of labor, since we acquire the genuine status of master over our own land. We recognize that we must ourselves answer for mistakes, and not point at the center, which certain of our bureaucrats at all levels of management are expert at doing. And finally, we must understand that only our own labor, only initiative and enterprise in any field of work, only the highest responsibility of each of us will allow us to make our life better.

Report on Moldavian People's Front Congress

90UN2453A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 3 Jul 90 p 2

["News Report on the Second Congress of the Moldavian People's Front"]

[Text] During the second half of 30 June the Moldavian People's Front Second Congress witnessed debate on the report by the chairman of the NFM [Moldavian People's Front] Council and the accounting report by the chairman of the Auditing Commission. Noted here were the successes as well as the shortcomings in the activity of this republic's most mass movement; we must work to eliminate such shortcomings.

A number of the speeches emphasized the need to precisely define the status of the NFM as to whether it is a sociopolitical movement, an independent party, or a coalition of parties standing on a commonly shared platform. Under the present-day conditions, the delegates Yuris Roshka, Anatol Shalaru, and Ilie Ilashku consider the People's Front and the Communist Party of this republic to be essentially affiliates or branches of their respective All-Union organizations. Therefore, the situation can no longer continue whereby persons essentially "sail in two boats at the same time and pay dues to opposing organizations."

After several such speeches, many delegates to the congress who are simultaneously CPSU members made written or oral declarations concerning their withdrawal from the CPSU.

Sharp criticism was leveled at the NFM Council by its secretary, George Gimpu, who pointed out a number of organizational, tactical, and strategic omissions in the localities, among the population who are non-indigenous as to their nationalities, as well as in Northern Bukovina and the left-bank area of the Dnestr, insufficient participation in solving social and economic problems, the failure to adopt effective measures for returning to the motherland persons who have left Moldavia, and many other shortcomings. He said that we need a plan of specific actions in order to solve all these problems. Above all, we need to get rid of casual, dishonest persons who join the NFM solely to further their own careers and to accumulate political capital. NFM departments at all levels should work with each person and operate solely by the method of persuasion.

Nikolae Kostin noted that criticism and self-criticism should become a permanent or constant element in the NFM's activity, but they should not be utilized as a means to achieve some sort of profitable or self-seeking goals. Like a number of other speakers, he formulated the problems on whose solution the People's Front must focus its attention in the immediate future. The speeches also named specific ways to solve them. Thus, for example, Andrey Bashtovoy noted that the only solution for the problem of getting rid of the bureaucratic apparatus at all levels is to make the transition to a new administrative-territorial division of the republic into uyezds [districts]. At the center of attention for George Malarchuk and Pavel Gusak were problems which had accumulated in ecology. Nikolae Onofrash dwelt on matters connected with creating a genuinely national Academy of Sciences and financing scientific research projects. Andrey Vartik and Valeriu Matey consider that the People's Front should work for the benefit of the nation's spiritual rebirth, as well as along the lines of deepening the economic reforms, which will allow us to significantly improve the people's material well-being and prosperity.

The concluding speech was delivered by Ion Khadyrke, chairman of the NFM Council. He expressed thanks for those additions to the report which had been proposed during the debate. And he noted that only in such frank discussions and joint work could we attain the goals set forth for this movement.

On 1 July the congress continued its work. It had already registered 1,041 delegates. The morning session witnessed a discussion of the draft charter for the People's Front. It was presented by Mikhay Gimpu, a member of the NFM Council. During the course of the article-by-article discussion stormy debates arose concerning the very first paragraph of the charter, pertaining to the further status of the NFM. Some of the delegates adhered to the opinion that it was high time to transform the Front into a political party. Other delegates, however—and they constituted the majority—considered that this would lead to a split in the organization. As a result of a vote, the first paragraph of the new NFM charter was adopted in the following form: "The Moldavian People's Front is an anti-imperialist and anti-totalitarian movement which arose as a result of the people's political activity."

The charter designates the goals and tasks of the Front, as well as the principal forms of its activity and structure; it also stipulates its relations with the state organs, sociopolitical formations, and public movements.

A sharp discussion evolved around the proportion of membership in the NFM. A stumbling-block was Paragraph 3.2, which states that NFM members cannot be simultaneously members of any political party. The opinion was stated that adoption of this paragraph could lead to a split in the Front; the latter would be left not only by CPSU members but also by members of other, newly born or emerging parties. It was proposed that this

paragraph be entirely excluded; other formulations of it were introduced. By a majority of votes, to be sure, a slim one, this paragraph was adopted in its initial version as follows: "An NFM member cannot be simultaneously in any other political party." Many delegates were dissatisfied with this decision; they asserted that such a formulation had been adopted in haste and under particular or specific pressure. They insisted upon a repeat vote, but the paragraph remained unchanged and without amendments.

Then the congress turned to a discussion of the draft of the new NFM Program. It was set forth by Shtefan Sekeryanu. After a rather brief debate and the introduction of some corrective amendments, the program was adopted. It defines or specifies the principal tasks of the Front as to foreign and domestic policy, as well as in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. With regard to volume, the new document is considerably more compact than the former one, inasmuch as many of the initially outlined tasks have already been implemented by the NFM.

As its anthem, the NFM approved the song entitled "Deshtayapte-te romyne."

The congress adopted an appeal to all persons living jointly on this republic's territory, as well as a number of resolutions and calls. In particular, the following resolutions: "On the National Church," "On the Status of the Soviet Army on the Territory of Moldavia," "On Ecology," "On Restoring the Ethnic Name [?] of the 'Romanian People' and the Glotonym [?] of the 'Romanian Language,' on renaming the 'October' Palace as the National Palace, renaming a several of Kishinev's streets and squares, as well as a resolution "On the Name of the Republic." The latter adduces historical and other arguments in favor of designating the sovereign, independent state as the "Romanian Republic of Moldavia." This name was introduced into the texts of the congress's program documents.

After this, the delegates proceeded to elect the NFM Council. A proposal was adopted to elect the NFM chairman by an open vote, whereas the right to nominate council members to be granted to delegations from rayons, cities, and the largest primary organizations.

In accordance with the adopted charter, the chairman of the NFM must be elected on the basis of the alternative principal. The following six candidates were nominated for this post: the delegates [illegible] Roshka, Valernu Matey, and Andrey Vartik withdrew their own candidacies in favor of [illegible] Khadyrka [?]. George Gimpu refused to "stand" for this post, declaring that he was refraining in the future from active political activity. Two aspirants remained: Ion Khadyrka and Nikolae Kostin. The former was elected by an absolute majority of the votes to the post of chairman of the Moldavian People's Front. He will also be the chairman of the NFM Council.

Ion Khadyrka gave thanks for the trust placed in him, and he declared that, being the first deputy chairman of this republic's Supreme Soviet and having agreed to become chairman of the NFM, he would not pursue the goal of concentrating power in his own hands, nor would he confer upon himself any sort of merits of the entire organization. At the same time he considers it necessary to facilitate its successes by all possible measures, to retain the Front's viability and consistency in its activity. Under these conditions, he deems it not only possible but even necessary that he head up the NFM as long as the congress insists on this. Having placed his hand on a Bible which was given to him, the NFM chairman solemnly swore to be faithful to its ideals to the end.

The congress elected the Council of the Moldavian People's Front.

With this the Second Congress of the Moldavian People's Front concluded its work.

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The correspondent of the Moldavian National Press Agency requested several of the participants in the Second Congress of the Moldavian People's Front to share their impressions about its work. Here's what they said:

Tudor Budyanu (delegate to the congress, member of the Chimishliyskiy Rayon Council of the NFM): I was pleasantly surprised by the enormous enthusiasm shown by most of the delegates, their unbridled or unrestrained desire not simply to meet and chat, but to solve certain specific problems, to outline paths for placing this republic in the ranks of civilized European states. This is attested to by the fact that they planned to conclude the congress at about 1800 hours, but they broke up late in the evening. With regard to the big picture, this congress justified our hopes.

Nevertheless, a certain unpleasant residue has remained. We expected more from the program and the charter. It's a pity that we failed to find a common language on matters of paramount importance and that we were in too much of a hurry to adopt certain paragraphs. In the first place, what I have in mind is the ill-starred Paragraph 3.2, which caused so many disputes and diverse opinions. I consider that we should not have adopted it; it is still too early. By adopting such a formulation, we, in fact, have become a party, even though we proclaim that we are still a movement. Because of this paragraph we could lose many of our adherents, and this might even lead to a split. And, at the same time, I'd like very much to hope that people understand us correctly, and that everything will turn out all right.

Sorin Buketaru (invited to the congress, member of the Coordinating Council of the organization of democratic youth known as "Dachiya libere): In greeting this congress in the name of our organization, I stated that it had not been thoroughly prepared. The report, unfortunately, did not contain that critical analysis of the

Front's activity which we had expected. Because, you know, it cannot be denied that in certain of its phases the NFM did make some mistakes; an understanding of them would have constituted a reliable insurance that they would not be repeated in the future. But, with few minor exceptions, no evaluation of these errors and shortcomings was given.

Nor did I like the euphoria, the ovations, and the emotions, which were sometimes very excessive. The impression was created that one was attending a party forum dating from the years of stagnation. We became witnesses of an unpleasant spectacle when dozens of communists, in declaring that they were quitting the party, "renounced Satan," as they expressed it. They were greeted as heroes. Thus, one felt like asking: just where were they before? Were they waiting to see which bank would be closer before striking out and swimming over? Why should we accept them with open arms?

Nor did we like such well-known methods of manipulating the hall, the pressure, as Yu. Afanasyev expressed it, of the "aggressive majority." Due to this, Paragraph 3.2 was adopted; it was this which separated us from the new parties. And so it has turned out that the Front is a movement with the charter of a political party. Why was it impossible to call a spade a spade? That is, call a front a front, and a party a party?! This congress answered many questions, but, unfortunately, far from all of them. And so, a great deal of work still lies ahead of us.

Andrey Bashtovoy (delegate to the congress, member of the NFM Sorokskiy Rayon Council, people's deputy of the Moldavian SSR): Despite the fact that the preparation committee performed an enormous amount of work, at the congress itself we could not succeed in avoiding serious differences of opinion. It would have been good if the proposed drafts had been distributed to the delegates ahead of time and discussed in a preliminary way in the primary organizations. Then each delegation would have had its own firm opinion on the various matters, and this would have facilitated a more rapid resolution of the contradictions and conflicts.

Let me say a few words about the "preaching" which took place at the congress and in its lobbies in the idioms of Paragraph 3.2. I consider that we proceeded correctly in approving the initial variant. The charter is a serious document, and, having adopted it, we cannot declare that members of existing and emerging parties can also be members of the People's Front. The draft charter of the CPSU, which will be discussed at the 28th CPSU Congress, already proclaims that CPSU members cannot be members of other parties. Just why do we invite everybody into our own organization? We are not a party, but why should be worse?

And with regard to parties which will emerge, we will find a common language. Either by means of agreements or by delegating representatives, we will cooperate with those who are close to our ideas. with regard to specific forms, they must be suggested by practical life itself. It

was useless to raise such a ruckus about this. In fact, everything is much simpler.

On the whole, I am satisfied with the congress's work. Of course, it could have been considerably briefer. But what can be done?; lengthy discussions are a kind of childhood disease.

MOLDAVIAN PRESS AGENCY

Moldavian Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets

90UN2444A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 6 Jul 90 p 1

[Report by the Press Service of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet: "At the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The regular session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held on 2 July under the chairmanship of Ion Khadirke, first deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

A number of questions were considered which are of great importance for the republic's social and political life and also which concern the organization of deputy activities and legal support of the process of democratization and perestroika.

A coordination committee was created to prepare and hold the national holiday "Limba noastre" ("Our Language"), set for 31 August of this year. The committee has been given the authority to draw up and ensure implementation of a program for celebrating the rebirth of the native language and age-old traditions and customs of Moldavians.

The members of the Presidium and invited guests comprehensively discussed and expressed their thoughts on the draft for creating a national information bank submitted by Deputy Andrey Vartik. The purpose is to disseminate information widely, turning it into capital, which would bring currency to the republic's economy. The bank is intended to keep all concerned abreast of current news in various spheres of vital activity and familiarize them with spheres contributing to the republic's transition to a market economy.

It was considered expedient to create a commission to study the numerous complex problems resulting from the operation of the Moldavian Metallurgical Plant.

A document was adopted regulating the procedure for resolving questions associated with the practice of administrative-territorial division of the Moldavian SSR. It was noted historical truth and expression of the population's will should become one of the main principles by which it is necessary to be guided in making possible changes to this practice.

The list of questions which should be put on the agenda of the session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, which resumes work on 25 July, was updated. In this

regard, the problem of the republic parliament's attitude toward the concept of the center with respect to the transition to a regulated market economy and also the procedure for implementing USSR laws on the territory of the Moldavian SSR merit special attention.

Other decisions were also passed.

Snegur, Moldavian Government Members Meet
90UN2451A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 3 Jul 90 p 1

[Unattributed MOLDOVA-PRES article: "Meeting of M.I. Snegur With Moldavian SSR Government Members"]

[Text] A meeting of M.I. Snegur, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, with republic government members took place on 30 June. In opening the meeting, M.I. Snegur heartily congratulated the ministers, personally and in the name of the parliament, on their appointment to such high and responsible positions, and wished the new cabinet members successful and fruitful work.

Less than a month remains before recommencement of the Supreme Soviet session in which the deputies must adopt a program of government actions to improve the socioeconomic situation in Moldavia. How much time will the government need for this? It is hard to answer such a question today. The government must carefully consider all questions. This does not mean, however, that it should be overcautious, avoiding radical solutions, aimed at improving the economy, in its program. Both the government itself and its program must be permeated with revolutionary innovation.

The Supreme Soviet Chairman noted that the government has no time to waste. Having been led on for decades with "bright prospects," the people today expect definite and palpable changes. Indeed, it is no secret to anyone that the populace will have faith in the government's program only if it begins to sense real changes for the better in the very near future. Perhaps these changes should first be apparent on the shelves of our stores. You know, to people fed up with the constant waiting lines, inflation, and shortage, even of the goods in everyday demand, the latter's appearance in the stores in sufficient quantity would be the best evidence that the government can overcome the crisis that has befallen the economy. But if the basic necessities are going to be in short supply even in the future, it will be hard to count on the people's confidence. That is why this program must be careful and definite.

The government's position on the transition to a market economy must be reflected in the program. Judging by the experience in the country, the main difficulty lies in bureaucratic circles' often being charged with this transition's implementation, and these have no desire whatsoever to chop off the "administration and command branch" on which they are sitting. The sharp reduction in numbers of ministries and departments, which, not

only Moldavia, but the Russian Republic [Rossiya], Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia as well have undertaken, inspires confidence that there will be no particular obstacles on the road to market interrelations. At the same time, the circumstance that it will hardly be possible to avoid the population's social stratification in the transition to the market should be taken into account.

Based on the position that the government presents, the Moldavian Supreme Soviet will have to develop its attitude toward the program of transition to a regulated market, which N.I. Ryzhkov's government has proposed to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Speaking of other timely policies that should be reflected in the government program, M.I. Snegur noted the importance of signing agreements and contracts, and establishing direct relations with the union republics and foreign countries. It is important, he stressed, that mutually advantageous cooperation be brought about in all areas, including science, culture, art, and policy. In general, where the sphere of international relations is involved, Moldavia, as a sovereign and independent state, should maintain an open-door policy.

It is difficult to put the republic's economy on its feet without solving the pressing problems in the agro-industrial complex. Our agriculturists have visited many countries for the purpose of studying advanced Western technologies for processing fruits and vegetables and putting them to use in the republic. Today, however, with the exception of several lines for putting out juices, there unfortunately is nothing progressive in the food industry from the technology standpoint. Therefore, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, jointly with the Ministry of Foreign Relations [Ministerstvo vneshnikh svyazey], needs to undertake reequipping of the processing industry, which is one of the Moldavian national economy complex's most important sectors, in the very near future.

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet urged the ministers to devote particular attention to the pressing problems affecting the whole population's interests on an equal basis with the solution of future problems. First of all, he noted, this involves fuller satisfaction of buyer demand for basic-necessity goods. According to statistical data, more than a billion [milliard] rubles worth of such goods has been exported from the republic recently. This confirms the need for limiting their export beyond Moldavia's borders. The Ministry of Trade, together with the law enforcement agencies' workers, should set this matter straight, and tighten control over the observance of established trade rules.

At the meeting, great attention was devoted to enforcing public law and order. No rule-of-law state, the Supreme Soviet Chairman stressed, can afford to have its citizens uncertain of the future. Therefore, it is necessary to safeguard our people from the fear of being subjected to assault and battery, or even murder, and burglary, and to put an end to acts of vandalism on historical and cultural

monuments. To these must also be added the constant violations of the parliament's laws and decrees. Speaking, in this regard, of the actions that took place on 28 June in Bendery, Tiraspol, Rybnitsa, and other populated places, he evaluated these as political provocation. Indeed, they were carried out contrary to a resolution adopted by the Supreme Soviet, which destabilizes the already difficult sociopolitical situation in the republic.

The Supreme Soviet Chairman condemned the act of the group of young people in Kishinev who barbarously destroyed the memorial plaques at the Victory Arch. Are there not other, civilized, ways of resolving any issues? Indeed, the flag was taken down from the Supreme Soviet Building, and the Moldavian Parliament turned it over to the History Museum. It would have been possible to act the same way with those memorial plaques as well. They also are part of our history. Thus the actions of those young people have no justification at all.

The people and the parliament have entrusted us with running the sovereign state of Moldavia, said M.I. Snegur in conclusion. The populace expects definite actions in answer to its human needs and hopes from us all. In that way, we shall be worthy of our people's trust.

M.G. Druk, prime minister of the Moldavian SSR Government, who spoke at the meeting, thanked the Supreme Soviet Chairman for the substantive program send-off to the cabinet's new membership. He called upon the ministers to expedite the presentation of concrete proposals for the government program to stabilize the republic's socioeconomic situation.

Moldavian Government Decree on Pensions

*90UN2335A Kishinev SEOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 27 Jun 90 p 1*

[Decree of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet: "On Providing Pensions for Citizens in the Moldavian SSR"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic hereby decrees the following:

1. The government of the Moldavian SSR shall be assigned the task of developing and publishing, prior to the autumn session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and based on the statutes of the Union-level Law "On Providing Pensions for Citizens in the USSR as well as the accumulation of experience in this sphere by the governments of developed countries, a draft Law to be entitled "On Providing Pensions for Citizens in the Moldavian SSR."

2. The mass media shall broadly elucidate the statutes provided for by this draft law and shall publish suggestions from the public with regard to it.

The Commissions on Health Care and Social Security of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet shall systematize

and sum up these suggestions so that they may be taken into account when improving the draft law.

3. The government of the Moldavian SSR shall create special commissions for revising the previously set personal pensions, taking into consideration the merits and services to the society of the persons involved.

4. The government of the Moldavian SSR shall thoroughly study the matter of providing pensions to citizens who fought and took part in World War II and were mobilized on the territory of Bessarabia, as well as citizens of Moldavia who were repressed under the Stalinist and Neo-Stalinist regimes.

5. The government of the Moldavian SSR shall set a minimum standard of living, informing the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet about this; and it shall constantly maintain a balance between this level and the appropriate social pensions.

M. SNEGUR, chairman, Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet
City of Kishinev, 20 June 1990.

Decree on New State Control Commission

*90UN2335B Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 27 Jun 90 p 1*

[Decree of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet: "On the Moldavian SSR Committee of People's Control"]

[Text] In connection with implementing the policy of economic independence and converting the republic to a market economy, the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic hereby decrees the following:

1. The Moldavian SSR Committee of People's Control shall be abolished.

2. In order to work out prior to 1 September 1990 a concept of state control and a draft Law on State Control for the Moldavian SSR, as well as to implement measures for abolishing the Moldavian SSR Committee of People's Control, a temporary or provision commission shall be formed, consisting of the following persons:

BELICHUK, Georgiy Ivanovich—Droknovski Electoral District No 164, Droknovski Rayon;

BUGA, Ion Ionovich—Electoral District No 166, Khesnesheni Mar, Droknovski Rayon;

CHORAP, Vitaliy Petrovich—Albishoara Electoral District No 33, Oktyabrskiy Rayon, city of Kishinev;

KOLUN, Valentin Sergeyevich—Syndzherskiy Electoral District No 52, Sovetskiy Rayon, city of Kishinev;

KOTOROBAY, Mikhayl Ivanovich—Tsipalskiy Electoral District No 380, Yalovenskiy Rayon;

GIMPU, Georgiy, Fedorovich—Budeshstskiy Electoral District No 228, Kriulenskiy Rayon;

MOTSPAN, Dmitriy Georgiyevich—Feleshstkiy-Kelugerskiy Electoral District No 345, Faleshtski Rayon;

MUNTYAN, Petr Ivanovich—Zavodskoy Electoral District No 8, Dnestrovskoy Rayon, city of Kishinev;

PLUGARU, Anatoliy Fedorovich—Dreslichenskiy Electoral District No 230, Kriulenskiy Rayon;

SYUMBELI, Georgiy Dmitriyevich—Kopchakskiy Electoral District No 329, Tarakliyskiy Rayon;

SHOYMARU, Vasiliy Alekseyich—Border Elector District No 127, city of Ungen.

3. This decree shall take effect and be operative from the date of its adoption.

M. SNEGUR, chairman, Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet
City of Kishinev, 19 June 1990.

Decree on Government Press Organs

*90UN2335C Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 22 Jun 90 p 1*

[Decree of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet: "On the Press Organs of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic hereby decrees the following:

1. In order to elucidate the activity of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, the activity of the Moldavian SSR's people's deputies, as well as the activity of the local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Moldavian SSR, publication of the newspaper SFATUL TSERIY shall be renovated and resumed beginning in 1990.

The newspaper SFATUL TSERIY shall be deemed the press organ of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and shall have a periodicity of being issued six times a week in the state language and in Russian (as translated from Moldavian).

2. The editor-in-chief of the newspaper SFATUL TSERIY shall be appointed by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet upon the recommendation of the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

3. The press organ known as VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA I PRAVITELSTVA MOLDAVSKOY SSR shall be renamed as MONITORU VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSR MOLDOVA.

4. Organizations of political parties and other public movements shall not be allowed to be included on the staffs of the press organs of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

5. The Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet shall determine and specify the financial-economic conditions.

M. SNEGUR, chairman, Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet

City of Kishinev, 15 June 1990.

Decree on Regional Press Organs

*90UN2335D Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 22 Jun 90 p 1*

[Decree of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet: "On Press Organs of the Rayon (or City) Moldavian SSR Soviets of People's Deputies"]

[Text] In order to strengthen the actual power and authority of the Soviets of People's Deputies at all levels, the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic hereby decrees the following:

1. It shall be deemed that the rayon- and city-level newspapers being published at the present time are the press organs exclusively of the rayon- and city-level Soviets of People's Deputies.

In those rayon-s and cities of the republic in which the Moldavian population comprises the majority the newspapers, as a rule, shall be published in the state language; in the other rayons and cities items in one and the same newspapers shall be printed in the state language as well as in other languages being used on the territory of such a rayon or city. The languages in which the rayon- and city-level newspapers are published shall be determined and specified by the appropriate local Soviets. In cases where disputes arise the latter shall be resolved by the Commission on Matters of Glasnost and Mass Media of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

2. The Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet shall be assigned the task of developing the mechanism for converting the rayon- and city- level newspapers, as well as inter-rayon printing plants to full jurisdiction and control by the rayon- (or city-) level Soviets of People's Deputies. The financial and economic conditions for the activity of these press organs shall be determined and specified within the new system of wages for employees of rayon- and city-level newspapers on the level of wages and salaries paid to office employees of the rayon- and city-level Soviets of People's Deputies.

3. The editors of the appropriate newspapers shall be approved by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet upon the recommendation of the rayon- (or city-) level Soviets of People's Deputies.

M. SNEGUR, chairman, Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet

City of Kishinev, 15 June 1990.

Election Fraud, Water Use Issue Raised During Masaliyev Visit

*90US1062A Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA
in Russian 12 May 90 pp 1, 3*

[Kirghiz Telegraph Agency report: "Constructive Character Is a Basis for Actions"]

[Excerpts] As has already been reported, a meeting between the leaders of the republic and a number of ministries and departments, and the secretaries of party raykoms [rayon committees] and primary party organizations, chairmen of the rayon executive committees and rural soviets and the working people of the city and the Talas region was held on 6 May in Talas.

First secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party [of Kirghizia], Chairman of the Kirghiz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet A.M. Masaliyev spoke to those assembled. He noted that such a meeting, one which provides an opportunity to discuss the plans of further socio-economic development in the region in the course of a frank conversation and determine the scope of issues of the day which need to be resolved, has been due for a long time. The main point is not just to talk and go home, but to set tasks together in such a manner that both sides will be able to report on the work done at the next meeting which will, apparently, be held in the fall. Then we should map out new prospects. [passage omitted]

A presentation by the imam of a mosque situated on the territory of the Kumushtak Collective Farm in Leninpol'skiy Rayon S. Andokhunov caused enlivening on the floor. He expressed his gratitude to the leadership of the republic for the policy implemented with regard to religion. He went on to note that this is not the only thing he would like to discuss. Expressing the view of my fellow villagers, I would like to report to you on the incidence of ballot manipulation during recent elections. On election day, the leadership of the rayon literally flooded the shop with foodstuffs and goods in short supply which, as you would understand, were sold without any kind of ration cards. In the evening, the lights suddenly went out everywhere when votes were being counted... I would like to believe that those guilty of this violation will be justly punished, appealed the imam to the leadership of the republic. [passage omitted]

First Secretary of the Kirovskiy Rayon Party Committee E. Ormonov stated that the management of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources has been reducing the supply of water for irrigation to them year after year. This is happening despite the fact that the Kirovskoye Reservoir, the only one in the Talas region, is situated in the rayon. It is time to raise the issue of the mutually advantageous use of the resources of this water-retaining facility by Kazakhstan and Kirghizia. Otherwise, it so happens that we who are in charge of the reservoir use only five percent of the water. [passage omitted]

Kirghiz Leaders Discuss Ethnic Awareness, Housing, Residence Permits

*90US1062B Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA
in Russian 14 May 90 pp 1-2*

[Article by Kirghiz Telegraph Agency correspondents A. Barshay and K. Dosumbetov: "A Sharp But Necessary Conversation"]

[Text] Yet another meeting between the leaders of the republic and the representatives of the young people, residents of the city of Frunze and suburban rayons, which was held on 7 May in the House of Political Education of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia set a record. It lasted eight and a half hours with one 20-minute break. This was perhaps the most heated and the most tense dialogue in terms of the pitch of passions. The people spoke at the meeting with active interest and heatedly; the atmosphere of freedom and plurality of opinions prevailed there. The main point was that authoritative answers to many questions could be received right there in the auditorium, and the resolution of other issues was immediately placed under control and referred for public review to the leaders of the respective subdivisions of the Council of Ministers, ministries, and departments of the republic. Thus, on 7 May CPKi [Communist Party of Kirghizia] Central Committee First Secretary, Chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet A.M. Masaliyev, Chairman of the Kirghiz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet A. Dzhumagulov, First Deputy Chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet R.S. Kulmatov, Secretaries of the CPKi Central Committee N.M. Chepelev and M.Sh. Sherimkulov, First Secretary of the Frunze City Committee of the party U.K. Chinaliyev, and Chairman of the Frunze City Executive Committee A.K. Nanayev came to the House of Political Education, as well as the leaders of a number of republic ministries and departments and representatives of the mass media.

The meeting began with the opening remarks of A. M. Masaliyev. Having briefly referred to the state of affairs in the republic, he stressed that the economy of Kirghizia has been developing on the whole in a stable manner, in keeping with plans, despite the production of milk declining somewhat recently. Measures are being taken to improve the situation. The socio-political situation may be assessed as satisfactory. The working people are toiling intensively and diligently. At the same time, the people everywhere are demanding the reinforcement of order and discipline, precise organization of production and improvement in conditions for work, everyday life, and recreation. In a word, if we manage to tap all of our reserves, good progress will be made.

Having subsequently discussed meetings between the leaders of the republic and the working people of the Naryn Zone of Issyk-Kul Oblast and the Talas Valley, the speaker noted the great significance of such meetings for the leaders themselves.

They open our eyes to many phenomena, make it possible to see our shortcomings and deficiencies more clearly, and indicate ways to solve specific problems. This is particularly useful for our ministers and the leaders of departments.

The main demands of the people are to have good roads, the supply of electricity, foodstuffs, running water and telephones, and to have more hospitals, day-care centers, schools, and clubs built.

The issues of developing tobacco growing and animal husbandry were also raised at these meetings. Despite the frequently stated opinion on the need to reduce areas under tobacco and the herd of sheep in the republic, rural toilers in the field object to it, and cite quite convincing arguments of their own. They say: Let them not resolve these issues for us from Frunze. This has its merits; at any rate, this shows that we need to approach solutions to all problems in a dialectical, knowledgeable, and comprehensively balanced manner.

Subsequently, answers were given to questions submitted by the working people earlier. Altogether, more than 100 questions had been received since the time the holding of such meeting began. Responses to 70 of them were given during a meeting on 17 March, and petitioners were given answers to some questions over the phone.

More than 30 questions were submitted for this meeting. However, in the course of the dialogue, its participants submitted about another 50 questions, proposals, and recommendations to the leaders of the republic in writing and orally.

Responses to them were given by A.M. Masaliyev, A. Dzhumagulov, M.Sh. Sherimkulov, A.K. Nanayev, Chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade B. Ryspayev, Deputy Kirghiz SSR Minister of Communications N.N. Nashnitsyna, Deputy Chief of the Frunze Division of the Alma-Ata Railroad A.M. Osmonaliyev, Editor of the newspaper VECHEPNIY FRUNZE Kh.Ya. Mustafayev, and others.

The scope and spectrum of these questions and statements was extraordinarily broad—from the narrow issues of providing amenities, municipal managements, and trade to broad political generalizations and assessments, from the sad confession of a person whom fate did not treat kindly to the quite specific resentment of a specialist who has lost his job. Apparently, many of these issues could be resolved at the level of housing complex management, rayon executive committee, or at the very most, city executive committee. Other issues called for the involvement of republic organs; there were also issues which were within the jurisdiction of union departments. However, the very fact that the people are raising these issues, which are frequently small and narrow, at a public meeting with the leaders of the

republic is indicative of the many shortcomings of our bureaucratic system of management—red tape, indifference, and incompetence.

For example, what has prevented the authorities of the city, in cooperation with public organizations and numerous foundations, to install at the very least a modest obelisk dedicated to the memory of the citizens of Frunze who died in the line of their military duty on the anniversary of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan? Did the management of the Shamsi State Farm in Chuyskiy Rayon really need some instructions in order to finally comply with the terms of a competition for the sellers of rabbit meat to the state which the farm itself has sponsored?

Many questions regarding, in particular, arrangements for a transition to the economic independence of the republic, the implementation of the law on the state language, and others are repeated at every meeting, which has given A.M. Masaliyev and A. Dzhumagulov the pretext to rebuke the authors of these questions for not reading attentively the republic newspapers which cover these issues in quite some detail.

It is difficult to enumerate all issues raised at the meeting. Let us look only at the issues which caused the sharpest discussion and have the greatest social significance.

The first group of issues raised primarily by the young representatives of the Kirghiz intelligentsia is associated with the manifestations of growing ethnic self-awareness, with the restoration of the spiritual, historical, and cultural values of the people. In particular, the need to create the "Ata-Meken" ("Motherland") Society for establishing, and developing cultural and economic ties with the Kirghiz residing in other countries was mentioned. The idea was voiced about reinforcing the society "Kyrgyz Tili" ("Kirghiz Language") in order to give a new impetus to the comprehensive development of the native tongue. In particular, it was proposed to transfer monies taken in by the fund for development of the state language to the Kyrgyz Tili society through specific appropriation. The issue of eliminating "the blank spots of Kirghiz history" was raised. In particular, in the opinion of participants in the discussion, it is necessary to tell the whole truth about the events of 1916. Ambiguous assessments of a number of articles in the central newspaper devoted to our republic were made. There were many sharp, categorical judgments.

We may understand the concern of the people about the state of affairs in the republic, the progress of perestroika, and the development of democracy and glasnost. However, there are areas in which particularly balanced judgments are required. This is the sphere of interethnic relations. Individual pronouncements by some participants in the meeting can hardly facilitate the strengthening of a fabric as frail as the relations between the people of different nationalities are at present. Thus, a young man accused the newspapers SOVETSKAYA

KIRGIZIYA and VECHERNIY FRUNZE of allegedly criticizing mostly the leaders of the indigenous nationality. Editor of the newspaper VECHERNIY FRUNZE Kh.Ya. Mustafayev resolutely disagreed with this assertion. He said that journalists criticize the officials of all nationalities primarily for specific shortcomings in their work, for violations of the law, and for a callous attitude towards the people. We may be accused of being insufficiently critical, of our criticism being insufficiently convincing or argumentative. However, accusations to the effect that the newspaper exposes leaders only on the basis of their ethnicity is absolutely groundless and unfair. The editor cited a number of facts which convincingly refute this ill-intentioned charge.

A letter from the residents of the villages of Kashka-Suu, Archaly, and of the imeni Kirov State Farm in Sokulukskiy Rayon caused a lively discussion. It said that "many villages located at the foothills found themselves surrounded by the summer home compounds of the city folk. Recently, private livestock grazed on these wastelands, due to which the standard of living of the Kirghiz populace was maintained. Without our consent, these lands were given to the owners of second homes who have apartments in the city. In many villages, there is no running water, and we drink water from irrigation ditches; by now, they have been polluted. We demand that our lands be returned, and that we be consulted on such issues in the future."

In response to this letter and the oral statements of the representatives of the rural populace who came to the meeting, A. Dzhumagulov agreed that indeed, the allocation of lots for second homes last year did not always take into account the interests of the rural populace. Recently, the number of allocated lots for second homes has dropped precipitously. This year, the allocation of land for second homes has been discontinued entirely in the suburban Kantskiy and Sokulukskiy Rayons. Measures aimed at ensuring ecological purity and sanitation will be stepped up with regard to the territories with already built second homes. As far as the improvement of the living conditions of rural residents is concerned, the Council of Ministers, the local soviets, farms, and enterprises should do the maximum in order to rapidly change the state of affairs for the better within a few years to come. New methods of economic operations and a transition to market relations will also enhance the potential of the rural residents and will give them a greater opportunity to improve the standard of living and the provision of amenities in villages.

During a break in the proceedings, A. Dzhumagulov talked to the elders sent by the imeni Kirov State Farm, and assured them that their complaint will be thoroughly reviewed, and the execution of a resolution on it will be monitored.

Finally, about the questions which were accompanied by the most emotional reaction of the audience and heated, sharp discussions. These were the issues raised by the

representatives of the Ashar Society and a number of other groups of young people.

For the most part, Ashar members raised the issue of construction and development of territories allocated for the construction of private residential homes in the summer of last year. Many lots still have not been connected to water mains and electricity lines, and for this reason young developers frequently have to turn to the service of unauthorized work teams which demand sky-high payments for their work. Employees of the Frunze electric lines enterprise restricted themselves only to installing "naked" posts for high-voltage lines. It did not go beyond that. The developers are also experiencing difficulties with construction materials and their delivery. All of this entails considerable financial difficulties for the members of the Ashar. The issue of designing and building schools, day-care centers, hospitals and other establishments of the social, service, and cultural sphere in new residential developments was also raised.

In his answer to these questions, A. Dzhumagulov considered it necessary to remind them that the activists of the Ashar Society failed to heed sober advice last year. After all, many people demanded only to have the land for development allotted to them, without thinking about how to build and what to build it with. Of course, unplanned construction on a scale that massive causes many difficulties in the supply of materials, the provision of amenities, land development, water supply and so on. Despite the fact that considerable additional funds and resources have been allocated, certain difficulties with supplying new construction sites with everything necessary continue. However, the Council of Ministers and the city executive committee intend to render feasible help in ensuring everything necessary for the areas of private construction in the future as well.

Touching on the planning and construction of communal facilities in these areas, A.K. Nanayev stated that it is planned to begin the construction of a school for 690 students this year, and to commission it next year in the vicinity of the village of Mayevka. As soon as this year, a community trade center and a day-care center for 140 children will be built.

The voices of the Ashar members were concerned but on the whole quite peaceful, whereas the mood of the representatives of some other groups and their sympathizers was different. Their demands were sometimes stated aggressively, in the form of ultimatums. At times, it appeared that the heated, emotional conversation which was still within the bounds of decency would be drowned out by blind intolerance and would erupt in an uncontrollable outburst any moment.

We should appreciate the restraint, self-control, and tolerance of the leaders of the republic who did not give in to the statements of their opponents which at times were clearly provocative, and succeeded in maintaining

the conversation within the confines of a discussion which was, to be sure, sharp but constructive.

In conjunction with the intolerant tone of some speakers, A. Dzhumagulov said: "We did not come here to knock heads together but rather in order to share thoughts and ideas, and look together for ways to solve complex problems."

What is the essence of the demands of this segment of the young people? The situation is as follows. Recently, a large group—up to 500—young people who work at various enterprises in the city of Frunze but have no dwellings decided on their own to squat on a large vacant lot behind the Frunze Tourist Center and build on it. Without waiting for a land permit from the rayon executive committee, they pitched tents on the vacant lot which has been turned into a garbage dump, and some of them even managed to lay out the foundations of homes and pour concrete. Another group of young men demand that lots for construction be allocated to them in the area of microrayon Kok-Dzhar. Representatives of these associations who came to the meeting insisted that the leaders of the republic and the city go to the site immediately, right away, and begin negotiating with the main mass of those yearning to obtain land. This demand was made as an ultimatum. Some hotheads threatened to hold a rally and other protest actions in the event it was not met.

The situation of young, independent people who have no elementary housing and long to build a house or an apartment for their own family with their own hands can be understood. However, we should also recognize the fact that resolving one's problems, even those of vital significance, by means of ultimatums, threats, or, worse yet, violent actions is not only dangerous and destructive but also illegal. After all, we are building a rule-of-law state the backbone of which is found in the supremacy of the law and the equality of all members of our society before the law.

A.M. Masaliyev, A. Dzhumagulov, and other participants in the meeting told this to excited speakers.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic reminded the young people that, taking into account the acuteness of the problem and its great social significance, the government has already accommodated them by authorizing the city executive committee to issue Frunze residence permits to people who work at the enterprises of the capital city and actually live in it even though they do not have living quarters. This gives them the right to be placed on a waiting list for receiving a state or cooperative apartment or obtaining a lot for private development. To this end, the city executive committee of Frunze allocated sizable reserve and vacant lots of land last year. The necessary funds were allocated from the city budget for engineering survey, planning and layout of the zones of private construction, and land development.

Special departments for allocating lots for individual development have been created in all four rayon executive committees of the city. They register applicants and those who have a right to the lots of land, they process documents, and they give advice. Procedures to allocate lots have been determined. This work proceeds quite openly and is continuously monitored by the government. By now, more than 100,000 lots have been allocated, but, naturally, the territory of the city is finite. Certain restrictions which unavoidably develop in solving the problem of individual construction are not due to someone's whim, ill will, or greed. They are an objective reality. This is why attempts to resolve this acute issue by means of accomplished facts and rallies are nonsensical and not promising.

Those attending the meeting were told so directly and firmly.

Summing up the results of the meeting, A.M. Masaliyev said: "At present, all of us attach hopes to the authority of democratically adopted laws and the authority of specific useful deeds rather than the spontaneity of a rally. At present, a new corps of people's deputies who were elected freely and on a competitive bases are active in the republic. A new Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of people's power were elected. The laws adopted by them express the will of the people. The people demand that the laws be strictly obeyed by all members of our society without exception. This is why we will firmly stand by the rule of law and legal order, and will not allow any violence, threats, and destabilization of the situation to occur. On the contrary, we invite everybody, all republic organizations and movements to take part in constructive dialogue and live exchanges of views. In the future, we will continue meeting on a regular basis with the working people, young people, veterans, and inhabitants of all regions of the republic in order to know better the mood and views of the people, and in order to take into account their proposals, wishes, and advice on specific policies as much as possible.

The final part of the meeting, when dozens of the young people surrounded A.M. Masaliyev, A. Dzhumagulov, M.Sh. Sherimkulov and other leaders and talked to them without a microphone, as they say, "betme bet," face to face, also showed that a dialogue, even if heated and sharp, is better than cold hostility which brings about opposition and confrontation. The sides may not have agreed with each other on everything. Yet, it seems to us that this was an argument which ultimately leads to agreement.

Tajik CP 21st Congress Information Report

90US1054A Dushanbe KOMMUNIST
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 26 May 90 p 1

[Information report on the Tajik CP 21st Congress]

[Text] On 25 May the Tajik CP Congress continued its work. In the discussions of the reports, the following speakers took part: The comrades S. Kh. Negmatullayev,

president of the TaSSR Academy of Sciences; U. Abdulkharova, brigade leader of the weaver's shop of the Khodzhenatlas, Leninabad; O. Latifi, deputy chairman of the TaSSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the board of directors of the republic's Union of Writers; N. A. Senshov, chief of the Dushanbe garrison; D. Guloyezova, secretary of the party committee of the Sovkhoz Dzerzhinsky, Shugnanskiy Rayon; O. Yakubov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Tajikistan; M. A. Atlasov, chairman of the council of tenants of the Stroymaterialy Production Association, Isfara; O. Berdiyev, first secretary of the Garmskiy Raykom of the Tajik Communist Party; T. A. Dzharabayev, editor of the newspaper SOVET TOZHIKISTONI; A. M. Davydov, fitter of the SU-18 Dushanbe Trust; M. P. Pulatov, inspector of the Tajik CP Central Committee; O. V. Butenko, director of Secondary School No 4, Shaartuzskiy Rayon; G. S. Mikhaylin, procurator of the Tajik SSR; A. B. Obidov, secretary of the party committee of the Sovkhoz imeni Sverdlov, Ganchinskiy Rayon; V. Kh. Razzokov, student of Tajik State University imeni V. I. Lenin; and M. Nurmukhamedov, recipient of a merit pension, delegate to three first congresses of the Tajik Communist Party, Dushanbe.

K. M. Makhkamov, the first secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee, delivered concluding remarks and answered the numerous questions of the delegates of the congress.

The congress decided to include in the stenographic report of the 21st Tajik CP Congress the speeches submitted to the presidium by delegates who did not succeed in speaking during the discussion.

In regard to the questions that were discussed, the congress adopted two documents—the "Resolution of the Tajik CP 21st Congress on the Course of Restructuring and the tasks of the Republic Party Organization. Report of the Tajik CP Central Committee. Platform of the Tajik CP "For the Democratization and Humanization of Society" and "Resolution of the Tajik CP 21st Congress on the Drafts of the Platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th Party Congress "Toward a Humane and Democratic Socialism" and the Statute of the CPSU."

The congress approved the report of the Tajik CP Auditing Commission. Then the congress proceeded to the elections of the leading organs of the Tajik Communist Party. The delegates accepted the decision of the first secretary of the Central Committee to vote directly at the congress in a secret ballot. In the discussion of this question, the deputy chief of the Party Building and Cadre Work Department of the CPSU Central Committee, V. N. Lobko, spoke. The majority of the delegates proposed the election of K. M. Makhkamov as first secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee. K. M. Makhkamov made public a telegram that had been received addressed to the congress from Khorog from the correspondent of an oblast newspaper, Shodzhamolov,

who is not a delegate of the congress, which, in particular, contains the proposal to recommend, for the post of first secretary of the Central Committee, Sh. D. Shabdolov or S. Sh. Mirzoshoyev. The telegram called forth bewilderment among the delegates of the congress. Sh. D. Shabdolov and S. Sh. Mirzoshoyev declared their refusal to accept the nomination as candidates and supported the candidacy of K. M. Makhkamov. The chairman turned to the delegates with a call to nominate other candidates for the post of first secretary of the Central Committee. However, other nominations were not received.

The candidacy of K. M. Makhkamov for the post of member of the Central Committee, member of the Buro of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee was entered on the ballot for a secret vote.

On the basis of the results of the vote by secret ballot, as reported by the counting commission, K. M. Makhkamov was elected member of the Central Committee, member of the Buro, and first secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee by an overwhelming majority of votes. Of 1,013 delegates who took part in the voting, 941 delegates voted for him.

The congress approved the report of the commission on the organization and results of the elections of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress and the report of the commission on the recommendation of candidacies for election to the central CPSU organs and adopted appropriate resolutions with respect to them.

A resolution was adopted to extend the powers of the delegates of the 21st Tajik CP Congress until the end of 1990.

In connection with the end of the academic year, the congress adopted an Appeal to the Graduates of the Secondary General Education Schools, Vocational-Technical, Secondary-Specialized, and Higher Education Institutions of the Republic and Sponsorship Organizations.

The chairman of the TaSSR Council of Ministers, I. Kh. Khayeyev, answered a number of questions that had been received in the presidium of the congress.

The congress received many telegrams from labor collectives, primary party organizations, and individual communists of the republic, which contain support of the Platforms for the 28th CPSU Congress and the 21st Tajik CP Congress, as well as wishes for the success of the new membership of the Tajik CP Central Committee.

The congress will continue its work on 26 May.

Concluding Tajik CP 21st Congress Report*90US1054B Dushanbe KOMMUNIST**TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 27 May 90 p 1*

[Report on Concluding Session of Tajik CP 21st Congress Report]

[Text] On 26 May the concluding session of the Tajik CP 21st Congress took place.

The Central Committee and the Auditing Commission of the Tajik Communist Party were elected by secret ballot.

The formation of the elective organs took place on a broad democratic basis. Consideration was given to proposals on this account that were received during the preparation of the congress, as well as to recommendations by the study commission for the development of proposals on the membership of the elective organs that was elected at the congress. The preliminary make-up of the candidacies for inclusion on the ballot was discussed at a specially-convened meeting, in which every delegate to the congress took part. The personnel make-up of the candidacies was given a final review at a plenary session of the congress, during which every candidacy was examined individually and a number of additional delegates were nominated for inclusion on the ballot.

The congress approved the protocols of the counting commission, which reported that 197 members were elected to membership in the Central Committee, and 67 members—to membership in the Auditing Commission.

Communists from the party organizations of all cities and rayons of the republic are represented in the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission. Among the members of the elective organs, there has been a sharp reduction of in the number of top-level officials of various organizations and a significant increase in the representation of communists who work directly at the machine, in the field, and on the farm. The scientific and creative intelligentsia is broadly represented.

The institution of candidate membership in the Central Committee has been abolished.

In closing the congress, K. M. Makhkamov expressed gratitude on his own behalf and on the behalf of all the elected members of the leading organs of the republic's Communist Party for the confidence shown to them. He emphasized the businesslike spirit that ruled at the congress and the great significance of the participation of all the delegates in the development of the program of action of the republic's Communist Party in the present difficult conditions.

The congress ended with the rendition of the party anthem "The International."

Tajik CP CC Plenum Elects Officials*90US1054C Dushanbe KOMMUNIST**TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 27 May 90 p 1*

[Report on Tajik CP CC Elections]

[Text] On 26 May the first plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee elected at the Tajik CP 21st Congress took place.

The first secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee, K. M. Makhkamov, conducted the plenum.

The plenum examined organizational questions. Through voting by secret ballot, secretaries of the Central Committee and the members of the Tajik CP Central Committee Buro were elected.

G. G. Veselkov was elected second secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Tajik CP Central Committee Buro.

A. D. Dadabayev and Sh. D. Shabdolov were elected secretaries of the Central Committee and members of the Tajik CP Central Committee Buro.

T. M. Abdushukurova, N. Ayubov, D. Kh. Karimov, A. Kh. Kurbanov, V. V. Petkel, M. Salikhov, Sh. M. Sultanov, and I. Kh. Khayeyev were elected members of the Tajik CP Central Committee Buro.

In connection with the fact that at the 28th CPSU Congress questions of the improvement of the party apparatus will be examined, the Central Committee Buro was charged with the preparation of a proposal concerning the functions, structure, and quantitative composition of the apparatus of the Tajik CP Central Committee apparatus and its submission to the Central Committee plenum.

At the plenum, the authority of the now working chiefs of the Central Committee departments was extended: Sh. M. Sultanov—Party Building and Cadre Work Department, N. S. Savenkova—General Department, A. G. Akilov—business manager, Z. M. Akhmedova—chairman of the Commission of Party Control at the Tajik CP Central Committee. Also extended was the authority of the newspaper editors: N. N. Kuzmin—of KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA; M. M. Mabatshoyev—of TODZHIKISTONI SOVETI; T. A. Dzhurabayev—of SOVET TOZHIKISTONI; and D. L. Latifov, the editor-in-chief of the journal KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA.

V. N. Lobko, deputy chief of the Party Building and Cadre Work Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and N. K. Dolgushkin, responsible official, took part in the work of the plenum.

With this, the plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee completed its work.

Turkmen CP 24th Congress Resolution on Niyazov Speech, Progress

90US1020B Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 17 May 90 pp 1-2

["Resolution of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan on the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Report"]

[Text] Having discussed the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee report, which was presented by Comrade S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Central Committee, the 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress feels that the Central Committee has done certain positive work for practical implementation of the party's policy on perestroika, for hastening the solution of urgent socioeconomic problems, and for making changes in the sociopolitical sphere.

The communist party Central Committee plenums' decisions on key economic problems, on revival of Leninist standards for party life and personnel policy, on social justice, on further democratization of public life and increase in glasnost, and on the perestroika of all ideological work have had great significance for the political, ideological, and organizational work of party committees and republic organizations.

The 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress acknowledges the timeliness of the republic party organization's preelection program, and prescribes it as a program of actions for further development as well. It gives communists and all republic workers a clear picture of perestroika's prospects in Turkmenistan, and takes into account the specifics of approaches to solution of the pressing problems associated with the objectively existing national and historical, social, cultural, and economic characteristics.

The 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress notes that perestroika is taking hold and gathering strength and dynamism in the republic. The workers' extensive participation in the changes being made, and each worker's growing sense of responsibility for a contribution to perestroika, characterize the political and psychological-moral situation that has been established. Turkmenistan's communists and workers support the party's innovative domestic and foreign policy, and are achieving its practical implementation. On the whole, the republic's workers show great awareness, and regard critically those negative processes that have appeared in a number of the country's regions. To a considerable extent, the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee's February and March 1990 plenums, and the drafts of the CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th Party Congress and the CPSU bylaws adopted at those plenums, have fostered a rise in the political activity of the republic's communists and all of its workers. With all of its diversity of opinions, the discussion that has developed expresses the Turkmen communists' attitude toward these as one toward documents which are a real basis for party consolidation and renewal of the party

and society in the direction of humanistic and democratic socialism's construction

On the whole, the Turkmen Communist Party has succeeded in creating a favorable sociopolitical situation in the republic for practical implementation of the renewal concepts and solution of the pressing problems in all areas of life. The situation's basic results—an upswing in the republic's national economy, an increase in people's activeness, an expansion of democracy and glasnost, and an enlivening of party life.

The processes that have been set in motion for shifting the economic machinery to the new methods of economic activity on economic- accountability and self-financing principles are beginning to give results. The quotas for growth in the national income were exceeded by a factor of 1.3. The average annual growth rates in industrial and agricultural production have increased by a factor greater than 1.5, in comparison with the 11th 5-Year Plan. Greater labor productivity has been achieved in all basic sectors of the national economy.

The economy's social orientation is increasing, and the quotas for putting housing, schools and preschool institutions, clubs and cultural institutions, and other facilities for social and everyday-living purposes into operation have been overfulfilled.

Purposeful work has been carried out in all youth indoctrination, education, and vocational training elements. New forms of organization for scientific activity have appeared. The population's attitude toward many cultural values and the organization of leisure time has been reexamined.

There has come to be more political circumspection, a more businesslike approach, and more concreteness in republic party organizations' activity. Most of the organizations are striving to support everything new that is arising in life, and to get the people behind them, not avoiding the most incisive questions. The electoral aktiv's significance and responsibility level are growing, and glasnost, criticism and self-criticism, and democratic methods in personnel work are increasing.

New democratic organs have been created on the basis of broad alternative election. The activity of the soviets at all levels is characterized by the deputy corps' growing activeness, and the weighing of different opinions and plans. The cooperation of party, trade-union, and Komsomol organs is being built on a fundamentally new base.

During the reporting period, methodical work was carried out by the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee and all republic party organizations to improve the moral atmosphere, and to overcome the old thinking's stereotypes and the social apathy and indifference of some communists.

The improvement processes and the party organizations' efforts are yielding their results: In the new psychological-moral situation that has taken shape, people in the republic feel more confident and more at liberty, and the number of active participants in perestroyka is increasing.

However, the 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress feels that many renewal processes in the republic are proceeding confusedly, and in different directions and dissimilarly in different places. This is a result, first of all, of the Central Committee's not having fully succeeded in focusing the efforts of the party committees and organizations, and the communist leaders of soviet and economic organs and public organizations, on making the changes and solving the qualitatively new problems.

An especially large number of problems remains in the social sphere, which fact is the main destabilizing factor in republic life.

The problems of housing, food, and population consumer-goods demand are being solved at insufficiently rapid paces. Throughout the republic, on the average, each person receives about 11 square meters of total living area, which is two-thirds of the average Soviet Union level. The waiting list for housing is becoming shorter extremely slowly and, in Mary and Tashauz Oblasts and the city of Ashkhabad, it is even becoming longer. There remain serious deficiencies in health care. The problem of employment for all of the work-capable population continues to create social tension, and one-fifth of the population in the republic is not involved in public production. The ecological situation is worsening, especially in Tashauz Oblast, a number of cotton-growing rayons, the city of Bezmein, the oblast centers, and the republic's capital.

Many of the social sphere's problems are connected with the lag in the economy's development and the slow paces of the economic machinery's perestroyka and the economic reform's implementation. During the last 2 years, a tendency to curtail growth in industrial and construction production has been somewhat apparent. The problem of unprofitable and lagging enterprises is not being successfully resolved. The financial situation's acuteness continues. Excessive growth has been permitted in salaries and wages relative to labor productivity. The problems of agriculture's intensification are being solved with insufficient vigor.

Confused processes are occurring in the educational and spiritual spheres. Reform of the general-education and higher school and vocational-technical education is slow in being implemented. Social science is not furthering the perestroyka of education and indoctrination. The lag in developing basic and applied scientific research has not been overcome. There are many unsolved problems in the culture and art areas. The necessary level of discipline and good order has not been provided. The population's disgruntlement is causing a rise in crime.

This is all explained by the Central Committee and its bureau and secretariat's having been unable to mobilize the party oblast and rayon committees [party obkoms and raykoms, respectively] and primary party organizations to a sufficient extent for solving the practical problems in implementing radical reforms in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres. There are serious deficiencies in the Chardzhou, Tashauz, and Ashkhabad party city committees' [gorkoms'] and the Vekil-Bazarskiy and Bakhardenskiy party raykoms' work. Many party committees have not broken the habit of giving orders and taking on the performance of functions not their own. Perestroyka is proceeding slowly in the primary party organizations' work. These organizations are not fully assuming responsibility for the state of affairs in the collectives, and for the communists' playing a leading role. Some communists in the party aktiv and cadres are exhibiting ideological vacillations and uncertainty.

Personnel potential is being inefficiently utilized. Delay is frequently evident in the making of urgent personnel changes because of the lack of trained replacement personnel. Some party committees do not conduct personnel work systematically and advance young and capable workers, women, and nonparty personnel extensively, openly, and actively. This applies to the Kirovskiy, Serakhskiy, Kalininskiy, and Khodzhambasskiy party raykoms to a considerable extent.

Ideological work is lagging the ongoing processes in life. Some ideological personnel have proved unable to master the new approaches and capably implement the theoretical and political directives prepared by the party. Many newspapers, including SOVET TURKMENISTANA and TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, and television and radiobroadcasting editorial offices lack the ability to explain the processes and accrued experience in perestroyka profoundly and currently, to react in time, and politically correctly, to the growing diversity of opinions, and to develop a useful dialogue.

While recognizing the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee's practical activity during the reporting period as satisfactory on the whole, the 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress directs the Central Committee to take more decisive steps, based on the experience gained in perestroyka, to implement the party's policy on expediting solution of the acute problems in socioeconomic and political development, and on increasing socialist democracy and improving all aspects of the society's life.

II

The 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress considers the matter of raising the living standard the most important one in the entire socioeconomic policy, and demands that the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee and the party oblast, city, and rayon committees consistently and persistently strive for the individual's real economic, social, and legal protection, for

the social processes' democratization, and for the satisfaction of republic inhabitants' vital interests and basic needs.

While recognizing that the extent of the accumulated social problems makes it impossible to solve them all at once, the following social problems are to be considered to have top priority:

- development and implementation of economic and other measures with extensive public participation, and execution of previously adopted programs aimed at improving supply of the republic population with food, consumer goods, housing, and services;
- substantial improvement in rural populated places' social development, and supply of all populated places with natural gas, drinking water, and electric power before the end of 1995;
- sharp increase in capital investments in all establishments associated with agricultural products' safe-keeping and delivery to the consumer, and in the harvest-procurement, storage, and processing system;
- maintenance of priority support of housing construction with material, financial, and other resources, regardless of housing construction method, and offering people the opportunity to buy apartments and build their own houses, summer cottages, and garden cottages, and these as may suit their personal tastes and needs;
- development and implementation of measures, and the execution of previously planned measures, to improve the utilization of labor resources;
- improvement in the quality of medical care, with unfailing priority for maternity and childhood care, and increase in the levels of public education and culture, based on the introduction of progressive work methods and increase in the share of national revenue directed into the development of health care, education, and culture, and development and enhancement of the network of rural general-education schools and rural medical institutions;
- radical improvement in mastery of the Turkmen language and expansion of its areas of application as the state language, and provision for the free development of languages of the other peoples that inhabit the republic;
- creation of a mechanism for increasing population incomes (wages/salaries, pensions, stipends, grants), especially those of large and underprivileged families, development and implementation of anti-inflation measures, and consistent implementation of social-justice principles in the distribution of social and monetary benefits, not permitting indiscriminate leveling in this regard;

—improvement in the financial condition and social care of pensioners, invalids, and other population categories having incomes below the subsistence minimum;

—development and implementation of a program for enhancing women's social security, improvement in their working and living conditions, and accrual of unbroken work longevity to mothers with many children, who run a personal household farm in the country, until the baby reaches school age;

—preparation and adoption of a comprehensive program of assistance to the young family, and to young people as a whole;

—enhancement of physical culture and sport's material base, and thoroughgoing encouragement and support of a healthy life-style;

—creation of an effective system of civil administration and criminal, labor, and family law, and implementation of other measures for protecting republic residents' legal rights, freedoms, and interests, and for the fight against criminality and other violations of the law.

Considering the ecological problem's political and social significance, the 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress feels that having an unconditional recognition of and respect for the value of nature and man is the only way to achieve scientifically sound goals in the ecology. Preservation of the people's living environment and health must become every republic resident's national and patriotic duty.

In keeping with this, the 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress declares itself:

—for immediate development of an ad hoc comprehensive republic "Ecology" Program, having devoted particular attention to the Priaralye [the hump of Turkmenistan south of the Aral Sea] and the resort city of Bayram-Ali;

—for development of ecological laws ensuring the reliable legal protection of nature, the environment, people's health, and historic monuments and cultures, and for improvement of the system for legal surveillance and control over the environment's condition.

The 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress considers the rallying of communists and all republic residents for expeditious and purposeful solution of the set of problems associated with the republic's transition to self-management and self-financing principles and a regulated market economy to be the main task in bringing about the economy's perestroika. For this it is necessary:

—that the republic government, every state and economic administration agency, and all enterprises and organizations develop and implement a transition-period program for operation under the new economic

conditions, and do not permit worsening of the national economy's operation and a drop in the population's real standard of living;

- to carry out the republic's economic relations with its partners on a mutually advantageous contract basis;
- to optimize the production forces' development concept, having provided for structural changes in the national economy favoring science-intensive, resource-saving, waste-free, competitive, and ecologically clean industries and technologies, capable of ensuring the republic's obtaining the maximum national economic effect and the efficient utilization of labor resources;
- to eliminate superfluous management echelons on the basis of state and economic functions' delimitation and management's democratization;
- to ensure prior development of the agricultural, building- materials, energy, and other sectors that constitute the base for development of the republic's national economic complex;
- to improve basic and applied science's material and technical base in order to ensure the development of new technologies, instruments, equipment, and mechanisms.

The 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress takes a stand for:

- the republic's complete political and economic independence, within the framework of a renewed USSR Federation, and increase of the local soviets' rights in deciding the matters of production force distribution and development and land and other natural resource utilization;
- cessation of the worker's alienation from the means of production and the results of his or her labor, and public recognition of good and conscientious work;
- creation of the competitive conditions in all areas of economic production activity, which will most efficiently utilize the areas' production and scientific-technical potential and increase science-intensive and resource-saving production;
- provision of equal economic management terms to all forms of goods producers (state, leasehold, stock-company and other enterprises, cooperatives, and individual producers);
- diversity and democratization in forms of ownership, equal rights of these to existence and competition, and profound perestroika of production relations on this basis;
- transition to a regulated market economy;
- radical renewal of economic relations in the agrarian sector, the fullest unlocking of kolkhozes and

sovkhozes' potential on this basis, and the development of agro-industrial combines, agribusinesses, collective and individual leaseholds, the family contract, peasant farms and cooperatives of these, and personal farms of the population.

The 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress feels that implementation of the aforesaid measures will become possible only when a decisive struggle is mounted for the prevention of all sorts of unproductive expenditures, losses, and thefts, and when the wasting of national resources is halted at all levels. Party committees and organizations must substantially step up the work to overcome production's unprofitableness and reduce the number of unprofitable enterprises and farms, and must concentrate all efforts on fully implementing the measures developed for financial recovery and the enhancement of money circulation in the Turkmen SSR.

III

The 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress considers it fundamentally important to undertake the development of a lasting ideological-work concept, based on Marxism-Leninism's theoretical heritage and the precedence of universal human values, without delay.

It is necessary to utilize all means of ideological work to explain the meaning and goals of the party's current political policy, to establish a high degree of organization and mutual exactingness, and a state of extensive democracy and glasnost, in every labor collective, and to inculcate in the people a high degree of political culture and the ability to withstand all antisocial manifestations.

For the purposes of organizing politico-ideological work among communists and workers, propagandizing Marxist-Leninist theory and CPSU policy and its program objectives, disseminating socialism's humanistic values, and agitating for the implementation of perestroika and highly effective training for personnel and the aktiv, it is to be considered appropriate to create a sociopolitical center based on the Political Enlightenment House [Dom politicheskogo prosveshcheniya] and courses of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee's University of Marxism-Leninism for increasing party, soviet, and ideological personnel's skills.

The Central Committee is to effect cooperation with other state and public organizations, on mutually advantageous terms, for use of the sociopolitical center's material and technical base, giving precedence to the carrying out of measures having a political nature.

Social science instructors' efforts are to be directed into qualitative updating of the party's theoretical repertoire and expediting the comprehension of perestroika's actual development processes and the outdated approaches to investigation of social development's causalities, and into developing sound prognoses and constructive recommendations for social application. All scientific research work and instruction in the social sciences in the educational institutions, and all lessons in

the political study system, are to be closely coordinated with perestroika processes and the reform of all aspects of social life, and dogmatism and pedantry are to be overcome in the study of Marxist-Leninist theory. The party's intellectual potential, especially that of the communists who work in the social sciences field, is to be extensively exploited in the cause of defending the correctness of Marxism-Leninism and the concepts of socialism and communism in the struggle against anti-perestroika forces, the activity of which conflicts with perestroika tasks.

Party committees and organizations, jointly with all interested organizations, must strive for the educational system's democratization and humanization. A search for such forms of the educational process as will further the well-rounded development of the rising generation's creative potentials, the enrichment of its spiritual life, the inculcation of patriotism and love of the homeland and work, and the rebirth of traditions, collectivism, mutual understanding, charity, and a sense of compassion for and pride in its republic is essential.

Party committees and organizations must give all possible support to the development and introduction of innovative instruction and indoctrination methods and new forms of educational organization and administration, and to the expansion of opportunities to obtain an education in other republics.

An important task for every communist is to sway public opinion toward increasing the families' sense of responsibility for bringing up their children, and toward rendering comprehensive assistance to children's homes and boarding schools for orphan children. For this purpose, it is to be considered necessary to develop and implement a special "Childhood" Program.

When solving difficult perestroika problems in the economy, the social sphere, and the environment's protection, party organizations are to rely more heavily on science. They are to promote greater involvement of scientific organizations in economic accountability respects, and increase in the development of basic and applied sciences by means of extrabudgetary financing [unappropriated funds], with the whole arsenal of political means.

The 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress takes a public stand for the preservation, development, and enrichment of the Turkmen people's national culture and a caring attitude toward the people's better traditions and cultural life for the representatives of all national and ethnic groups inhabiting Turkmenistan.

The population's patriotic and international indoctrination should be consistently improved, actively utilizing exchange of experience and spiritual values with sister republics, and international connections, for this purpose. In implementing nationality policy henceforth, it is important to take public opinion, interests of the various worker categories, the republic population's multinational makeup, and the sociocultural needs of national

minorities living in compact groups into account. It is important to take a stand fundamentally opposing manifestations of national narrow-mindedness and exclusivism, and to counter attempts to weaken the friendship and unity of USSR peoples.

Communist veterans and soldier internationalists are to be extensively involved in the work on patriotic and international indoctrination and the preparation of youths for service in the army.

Under the present conditions of church and state interrelations, the 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress considers it advisable to carry on an open and constructive dialogue with religious organizations. It is essential to ensure the unity of believers and nonbelievers' actions in strengthening peace, protecting the environment, and preserving cultural values, in charitable activity and the charity movement, and in establishing universal human standards of morality.

Party committees must more actively master the new methods for managing the press, television, radio, and the publishing business, promote the development of glasnost, give direction to the media's work, establish regular working relations with the journalists, and back the mass information media's critical and sensational presentations. Newspapers, magazines, television, and radio are obliged to propagandize accrued perestroika experience more thoroughly and convincingly, and to react immediately and in principle to manifestations of conservatism and attempts to exploit glasnost. Work is to be done systematically to improve the journalistic personnel's high-quality composition and their training and informed status, and to increase responsibility for the objectivity and truthfulness of publications.

In view of the weak printing and publishing base, and the need for the party budget's constant augmentation, the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau is to be charged with implementing strict control over the course of the Turkmen Communist Party [KPT] Central Committee editorial office and magazine complex's construction, and with taking all necessary steps for its going into operation at the prescribed time.

The enlivenment of literary and artistic processes in the republic is to be ensured, and literature and art are to be more effectively utilized in workers' ideological-moral indoctrination. Party and ideological workers must know the processes taking place in cultural life well, and must be constantly in touch with the artistic intelligentsia and support and assist it. The cultural sphere's material base is to be enhanced, and the necessary conditions are to be created for people's meaningful spending of their free time. Artistic and scientific-technical creativity is to be more extensively developed, and physical culture and sport's popularity is to be achieved. Development of the aesthetic indoctrination program for the population is to be completed, and its implementation is to be commenced.

An atmosphere of moral rectitude is to be created in labor collectives and at the population's places of residence, and additional steps are to be taken to enhance socialist law-abidingness and law and order in the republic's cities and rayons. The effectiveness of the law-enforcement agencies' work in the fight against criminality, drunkenness, moonshine distilling, drug addiction, and other antisocial manifestations, and in eliminating the causes promoting emergence of these, is to be increased. The work of auditing agencies is to be improved, and their efforts are to be directed into the fight against mismanagement, padded accounts and reports, and other negative occurrences.

IV

Party committees and primary party organizations are to ensure the participation of party committee workers and all personnel directors and communists in the ideological activity.

Recognizing the inadmissibility of further delay in the pace of perestroyka within the party, the 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress demands of the party committees, the primary party organizations, and all the communists of the republic the immediate elimination of deficiencies in the party's political work on perestroyka's main aspects. The most important task in this process is the extensive democratization of intraparty life, which presupposes:

- the making of decisions on the most important matters only after thorough discussion in the primary party organizations, with the labor collectives' opinions taken into account;
- the unconditional implementation of the directive to the effect that there cannot be a single organization or a single communist above criticism or beyond checking into on the part of communists or the non-party masses;
- further improvement in the checking, increase in its effectiveness, and concentration of party committee and organization efforts on verifying communists' observance of party discipline and the CPSU Bylaws' requirements for ensuring the party's unity and cohesiveness and its membership's uprightness;
- communists' free expression of their opinions, and wide-ranging intraparty discussion on the most diverse matters in sociopolitical life;
- revival of the Leninist concept of democratic-centralism theory ("freedom of debate in the issue-discussion stage, and unity of actions after the adoption of decisions by a majority"), and enhancement of its democratic essence by the implementation of checking "from the bottom up";
- the decentralization of personnel work by delegating a large part of personnel work's powers of decision "from the top down";

- consistent adoption of electiveness, contestedness, and competitiveness principles in personnel work;
- the participation of communists who are not members of elective organs in the work of party committee commissions;
- the development of public and extraorganizational methods in party committee work;
- radical change in the nature of interrelations with the Soviets of People's Deputies and all public organizations (Party organizations must build their relations with these on a dialogue basis, each side having equal rights, and pursue the political line through communists elected to the Soviets and the executive bodies of public organizations.);
- the republic population's extensive information concerning all intraparty matters, including those of the republic party organization's revenues and expenditures.

Performance of the large and complicated tasks confronting the Turkmen Communist Party requires profound organizational changes, both in the Central Committee itself, and in its apparatus. In this regard, the Congress considers the formation of electoral commissions within the Central Committee advisable, having freed some of the commissions' members from their primary work, having abolished all existing departments in the apparatus, and having left just one organ—Administration of Affairs—to serve the Bureau, the Secretariat, and the commissions. Groups of consultants, consisting of a number of highly qualified specialists and workers, are to be formed under the commissions to provide consultative assistance to commission members.

Such a perestroyka will make it possible to greatly reduce the party organs' direct meddling in the economy, science, culture, the soviets' activity, the economic agencies, and public organizations. It will promote, in turn, an increase in the Turkmen Communist Party's authority and influence in the republic: Having been relieved of functions not its own, the republic party organization will fully concentrate its efforts on performance of the more important political tasks.

The 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress proclaims that unity of the Turkmen Communist Party's membership is the most important condition for successful implementation of the reforms begun in the republic.

The 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress feels that the primary party organizations, which must participate in the development of party policy and focus each communist's creative potential, and each collective's know-how, on all problems of economic and sociopolitical life, are the decisive element in intraparty life's perestroyka. They bear responsibility for the practical implementation of party policy in the localities jointly with the higher party organs. In the renewed party, the

primary organizations must become the decisive force championing the workers' interests. They are obliged to have their own program of actions, and to achieve the creation of an atmosphere of intense creative work, bringing real return, in the labor collectives. The Central Committee and the party organs in the localities must devise and implement specific measures to heighten the primary party organizations' enterprise and increase their independence.

It is to be considered advisable and necessary to hold a republic conference of primary party organization secretaries in 1990 on the problems of mastering the political methods of party leadership at the present stage and increasing the effectiveness of party political work within the masses.

The cooperation of primary party organizations with the political organs and party organizations of Soviet Army and border troop units is to be developed.

Party organizations at all levels must constantly strengthen the bond with the workers, and take a decisive stand against any attempts to set the party and the people at odds and drive the CPSU out of political leadership and set its entire difficult and courageous struggle for socialism at naught. Remaining a component and indivisible part of the CPSU, the Turkmen Communist Party will stand firmly on Marxist-Leninist positions and hold high the banner of Lenin and the banner of the October Revolution. [Part IV ends here.]

In adopting its resolution, the 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress expects that the resolution will meet with the understanding and support of the republic's communists and all to whom the nation's fate and the socialism and perestroika concepts are dear and who desire their people's prosperity and happiness.

Now, as at no other time, we need stability in the society, unity of all strong forces, and every person's profound understanding of perestroika's meaning for our life and the nation's historical future. Against those who are trying to capitalize on our present-day difficulties and problems, the 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress interposes a clear and honorable position: to implement the line on the renewal consistently, not to conceal the difficulties, and to work on overcoming the latter together with all of the people. We are convinced that affairs can be given a turn for the better only by our joint, conscientious, creative, and enterprising labor, and by the deliberate and honest performance of our civic duty.

The 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress urges communists and all republic residents to close their ranks more tightly, vigorously and persistently carry out the reform work, and achieve genuine renewal of our entire life.

Amendments to Turkmen Constitution Published
90US1020A Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA
in Russian 17 May 90 p 2

["Resolution of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan Concerning Amendment of Articles 6, 7, and 49 of the Turkmen SSR Constitution (Basic Law)"]

[Text] For the sake of all of the political reform tasks' successful accomplishment, more complete delimitation of party, soviet, and economic agency functions, and formation of the rule-of-law state, the 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress considers it essential to present, as a legislative initiative, a proposal concerning amendment to the content of the Turkmen SSR Constitution's Articles 6, 7, and 49.

The 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress proceeds on the basis that the political reform, the democratization processes, and glasnost determine the Turkmen Communist Party's position and role in the republic's political system and public life. To perform its role as the political leader in perestroika, the Turkmen Communist Party has need, not of constitutional assurance of its leading position, but of decisive reform of its activity's forms and methods, and enhancement of its organizational and political work among the masses. The congress feels that the communist party's authority must be established by tangible acts for the good of the people. The republic communist party must establish its political influence in the elective organs and public organizations in democratic fashion, through the communists working in them. Party organizations must achieve the election to these of well-informed and politically knowledgeable communists who hold an active essential position and are capable of working effectively in the interests of our society's thorough democratization.

The 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress resolves:

To present to the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet, as a legislative initiative pursuant to Article 100 of the Turkmen SSR Constitution, a proposal for amendment of the Turkmen SSR Constitution's Articles 6, 7, and 49, having set them forth in the following revised form:

Article 6. Through their representatives elected to the Soviets of People's Deputies, and in other ways, the communist party, as well as trade-union, youth, and other public organizations, participate in the making of USSR and Turkmen SSR state policy, and in the administration of state and public affairs.

The Turkmen Communist Party and the public organizations act within the framework of the Turkmen SSR Constitution and laws in performing the functions called for by their programs and bylaws.

Article 7. Delete.

Article 49. Turkmen SSR citizens have the right to join political parties and public organizations, and to participate in mass movements which further the development of political activity and personal initiative and the satisfaction of their various interests.

Public organizations are guaranteed the conditions for successful accomplishment of their bylaw tasks.

The creation and activity of parties, organizations, and movements, which have forcible change of Soviet constitutional order and USSR and Turkmen SSR integrity, subversion of their security, or inflammation of social, national, or religious discord as a goal, are not permitted.

The creation and activity of newly forming public organizations, mass movements, and political parties are authorized by Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet resolution adopted by a majority of no less than two-thirds of the total number of Turkmen SSR People's Deputies.

Law on People's Deputies Status in Turkmen SSR

90US1131A Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA
in Russian 20 Jun 90 pp 1-2

["Turkmen SSR Law": "Status of People's Deputies in Turkmen SSR"]

[Text] The citizens of Turkmen SSR carry out the state authority through the soviets of people's deputies in the person of the deputies who have been freely elected by them. The deputies are the completely empowered and responsible representatives of the nation, who, on the basis of that nation's trust, have been called upon to express and defend in the soviets the public interests, to guide state affairs and socioeconomic development, and to direct and supervise the work of the state apparatus.

The deputies act as the leading force in the nation's self-government in Soviet society. A completely mandatory principle in the deputies' work is the showing of all kinds of concern for their constituents' needs, the nation's welfare, the strengthening of Soviet democracy, and the coordination of the interests of the individual, social groups, classes, nations, nationalities, and society as a whole.

The purpose of this Law consists in firmly establishing the status of all the people's deputies in Turkmen SSR, their most important powers and the guarantees of their deputy work, the responsibility of the deputies to their constituents and to the public organizations that nominated them, and in creating the necessary conditions for effective deputy work.

I. General Principles**Article 1. Deputies' Participation in Implementing State Authority**

The implementation of state authority by a soviet of people's deputies is based on the initiatory and active participation of each deputy in its work.

By participating in the work of the Supreme Soviet, local soviets of people's deputies, and their agencies, the deputies resolve very important questions of state, economic, and sociocultural construction, enact laws and other decisions of the soviets, and supervise the work of the state agencies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations. In their work, the deputies are guided by the nation's interests, express and defend the interests of their constituents, and also take into consideration the economic, cultural, national, and other peculiarities of the republic, oblast, rayon, city, settlement, and village soviet on the territory of which the deputies exercise their powers.

The deputy constructs his work in conformity with the laws of the USSR and Turkmen SSR, and also on the basis of decisions of the appropriate soviets of people's deputies and the mandates issued by their constituents, and strives to fulfill his pre-election program.

Article 2. Legislation Concerning Deputy Powers

The powers granted to people's deputies in Turkmen SSR are defined on the basis of the USSR Constitution by the legislation of the USSR for USSR people's deputies and by this Law for people's deputies of Turkmen SSR and the local soviets of people's deputies.

Article 3. Origin and Term for Deputy Powers

In conformity with the USSR and TuSSR Constitutions, a deputy receives his powers as a result of his election to the soviet from the electoral okrug on the basis of the universal, equal, and direct franchise and the secret vote.

The deputy's powers begin on the day of his election as a people's deputy of the TuSSR or the appropriate local soviet of people's deputies. The Credentials Commission that is elected by the TuSSR Supreme Soviet or the local soviet of people's deputies checks the deputies' powers. TuSSR Supreme Soviet or the local soviet of people's deputies, on the basis of a recommendation by the Credentials Commission, makes the decision concerning the recognition of the deputies' powers, or in the event that there has been a breach of the election legislation, concerning the recognition of the election of individual deputies to be invalid.

The deputy's powers end on the day that the people's deputies of TuSSR and the local soviet of people's deputies, new convocation, are elected.

Article 4. Combination of Deputy Work With the Fulfillment of Production and Official Duties

The deputy exercises his powers, as a rule, while continuing his production or official duties.

Article 5. Interrelationships Between the Deputy and His Constituents; Deputy's Accountability and Responsibility to Them

The deputy maintains ties with his constituents and with the collectives and public organizations that nominated him as candidate for election as deputy, and also with the collectives of other enterprises, institutions, organizations, and state and public agencies situated on the territory of his electoral okrug.

The voters and public organizations issue their mandates to their deputies.

The deputy is responsible and accountable to his constituents.

A deputy who had not justified his constituents' trust can be recalled in the legally established procedure.

Article 6. Interrelationships Between the Deputy and the Soviet and Its Agencies

A deputy, being a member of a joint representative agency of state authority, possesses all the rights that guarantee him active participation in the work of the soviet, the committees and permanent commissions, and other agencies formed by the soviet; is responsible to the soviet; and executes the instructions issued by the soviet and its agencies.

The soviet has the right to listen to deputy reports on their work in the soviet and their execution of the decisions and instructions of the soviet and its agencies.

In the event that the deputy has failed to execute his duties in the soviet or has violated the established procedure for working in the representative agency or the requirements of deputy ethics, the question of the deputy's conduct can be considered by the soviet or by the appropriate soviet commission.

The presidiums and the executive and directive agencies of the appropriate soviets of people's deputies render the deputies the necessary assistance in their work, and inform the deputies concerning the work of the soviet and its agencies, the rate of fulfillment of the plans for economic and social development, the implementation of the mandates of his constituents and of public organizations, and the steps that have been taken in response to the critical comments and recommendations of the deputies; and promote the conditions in which the deputies can study Soviet legislation, the work experience of the soviets, and public opinion.

Article 7. Defense of the Deputy's Rights, Honor, and Dignity

The Soviet state guarantees for every deputy the conditions for the unhindered and effective exercising of his powers, and defends his rights, honor, and dignity.

Persons who make encroachments on a deputy's honor and dignity are subject to disciplinary, administrative, or criminal responsibility in conformity with the law.

Officials of state and public agencies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations who fail to perform their duties to the deputy, or who hamper his work, provide him with information that they know to be false, or who violate the guarantees of deputy work are subject to disciplinary responsibility up to and including their being removed from the position that they occupy, or administrative or criminal responsibility in conformity with the law.

Article 8. Preterm Termination of the Deputy's Powers on the Basis of a Soviet Decision

A deputy's powers are terminated ahead of time on the basis of a soviet decision that is made in connection with the deputy's election or appointment to a position the occupying of which, according to law, is incompatible with the exercising of deputy powers, or as a result of the going into legal effect of a guilty verdict against the person who is the deputy, and also in the event that the deputy has lost his USSR citizenship. A deputy's power can be terminated ahead of time on the basis of a decision made by the soviet on the basis of the deputy's personal statement requesting his retirement in view of circumstances that hinder the exercising of his powers or for other personal reasons.

The powers of a deputy to a local soviet are also terminated ahead of time as result of changes in the administrative-territorial structure of Turkmen SSR.

II. Deputy's Work in the Soviet

Article 9. Deputy's Participation in Soviet Sessions

At sessions of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet and the local soviets, the deputies, on the basis of collective and free discussion, consider and decide the most important questions that fall within the competency of the appropriate representative agency of state authority.

The deputy is obliged to be present at soviet sessions and at sittings of its agencies to which he has been elected; to participate actively in their work; and, in the event that he is unable to be present at the sitting or session, the deputy is required to inform, respectively, the presidium of the soviet or its chairman.

The presidiums of the soviets of people's deputies, or, in city (in cities of rayon subordination), settlement, and village soviets, their chairmen, previously—within the time limits established by the operating rules for the appropriate soviets—inform the deputy about the time for convocation and the place for conducting the soviet session and the questions to be presented for its consideration, and provide him with all the necessary materials pertaining to those questions.

Article 10. Deputy's Rights at a Soviet Session

A deputy enjoys the right of the deciding vote with regard to all the questions being considered at a session of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet or local soviet of people's deputies.

The deputy has the right:

- to elect and to be elected to soviet agencies;
- to propose questions for consideration by the soviet;
- to make proposals and comments on the agenda, the procedure for consideration, and the substance of the questions to be discussed;
- to introduce drafts of decisions and corrections to them;
- to express his opinion concerning the personal makeup of the agencies to be created by the soviet and concerning the candidacies of the officials to be elected, appointed, or confirmed by the soviet;
- to participate in the debate, to make queries, and to ask questions;
- to make statements substantiating his proposals and the reasons for his vote, and to give factual statements;
- to make recommendations to have the session of the Supreme Soviet or the local soviet of people's deputies listen to a report or informational statement by any agency or official who is accountable to or under the control of the soviet.

With regard to the question being discussed at the session, the deputy can provide the presiding officer with the text of his own statement, recommendations, and comments for inclusion in the session minutes.

The procedure for exercising these rights is defined by this Law and by the operating rules for the appropriate soviet.

Article 11. Deputy's Right to Pose the Question of Confidence in the Makeup of the Agencies Formed or Elected By the Soviet or in Officials

In conformity with the legislation of Turkmen SSR, a deputy has the right to pose the question in the soviet concerning confidence in the makeup of the agencies formed or elected by the soviet or in officials who have been elected, appointed, or confirmed by it.

Article 12. The Right of Legislative Initiative of TuSSR People's Deputies

A TuSSR people's deputy has the right of legislative initiative in the Supreme Soviet.

The right of legislative initiative is exercised in the procedure established by USSR and TuSSR laws.

Article 13. Deputy's Query

The deputy's query is a demand stated at a soviet session, requiring state agencies and officials to give an official explanation or to state the position with regard to questions of public importance.

A TuSSR people's deputy, at sessions of the Supreme Soviet, has the right to address a query to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and the TuSSR Council of Ministers, or to the administrators of other state agencies formed or elected by TuSSR Supreme Soviet.

A TuSSR people's deputy also has the right to address a query to the administrators of enterprises, institutions, and organizations of union subordination that are situated on the territory of the republic with regard to questions that are within the republic's jurisdiction.

A deputy to a local soviet has the right to address a query to the soviet presidium, the soviet chairman, the executive committee, the administrators of its departments and administrations, and also to the administrators of enterprises, institutions, and organizations situated on the territory of the soviet with regard to questions that are within the jurisdiction of the appropriate soviet.

A query can be made by a deputy or a group of deputies in written or oral form. A query presented in written form must be read aloud at a soviet session.

The state agency or official to which or to whom the query has been made is obliged to give an oral or written reply to the query at a soviet session within the deadlines and in the procedure established by USSR and TuSSR laws. A query, the reply to it, and the decision made by the soviet after consideration of the query are published.

The soviet has the right to require a state agency or official to submit by a deadline established by the soviet a report on the execution of the decision dealing with the deputy's query.

Article 14. Procedure for Considering Deputy Proposals and Comments That Are Introduced at a Soviet Session

Proposals and comments expressed by deputies at a soviet session or communicated in written form to the presiding officer at a session are considered by the soviet, its committees, or commissions, or are sent for review to the appropriate state or public agencies and officials.

State and public agencies, as well as officials, to which or to whom deputy proposals and comments made at a soviet session have been sent are required, within one month, to review those proposals and comments and to report the results of that review in written form directly to the deputy, and also, respectively, to the presidium or to the soviet chairman, executive committee of the soviet, or TuSSR Council of Ministers.

Oversight of the review and implementation of the deputy proposals and comments is carried out, respectively, by the soviet presidium, executive committee of the soviet, or TuSSR Council of Ministers.

Article 15. Deputy's Participation in the work of the Soviet Agencies

A deputy who is part of the makeup of a soviet presidium, committee, permanent commission, or other agency of the soviet has the right to bring up any questions or proposals for review by those agencies, and to participate in the preparation of them for review, in their discussion, in the making of decisions pertaining to them, and also in the organizing and implementing of decisions of the soviet and its agencies and in overseeing their fulfillment.

A deputy who does not agree with a decision made by a soviet agency of which he is a member has the right to state his point of view at a soviet session or to communicate that point of view in written form to the presiding officer.

A people's deputy to TuSSR Soviets who is not a member of a committee or a permanent commission can participate in a sitting of a committee or permanent commission with the right to cast a consultative vote. A deputy has the right to be a member of permanent and ad-hoc deputy groups being formed in the soviet, or to leave them freely.

Article 16. Deputy's Participation in Inspections of the Work Performed by State and Public Agencies, Enterprises, Institutions, and Organizations

On instructions from the soviet or its agencies, a deputy has the right to participate in inspections of the work performed by state and public agencies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations located on the territory of the soviet with regard to questions that are within the jurisdiction of the soviet, to become acquainted with the necessary documents, and to conduct a deputy investigation. The deputy reports the results of the inspection to the soviet or its agencies, and also to the appropriate state and public agencies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and, when necessary, make recommendations concerning the improvement of their work, the elimination of shortcomings that were revealed, the cancellation of illegal decisions, and the bringing to responsibility of the persons who are guilty of violating state discipline and legality.

A deputy has the right to raise the question in the soviet and its agencies concerning the need to conduct inspections of the work performed by the state and public agencies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations situated on the territory of the soviet, and concerning the conducting, in the established procedure, of investigations with regard to any question.

III. Deputy's Work in an Electoral Okrug

Article 17. Deputy's Rights In Connection With His Work in an Electoral Okrug

In his electoral okrug, a deputy has the right:

- to participate in the review, at agencies of state administration and agencies of the corresponding public organizations, of any questions touching upon the essential interests of the citizens in the electoral okrug; those agencies are required to announce to the deputies the consideration of such questions;
- on his own initiative, with the involvement, if necessary, of the public and the people's controllers, to check the information that has become known to him from communications sent to him by citizens, organizations, and other sources, concerning violations of the laws or the rights and legal interests of the citizens, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, or instances of red tape or bureaucratic methods; to receive the information necessary for this purpose; and to require the appropriate agencies and officials to eliminate the violations that have been revealed;
- to hold meetings and conferences of voters in the okrug, meetings with labor collectives and local agencies of public organizations; to participate in sittings of agencies of public self-government, and at meetings of the soviet and economic aktiv, labor collectives, and citizens at their place of residence.

A deputy has the preferential right to speak on questions pertaining to his deputy work over the local radio and television, in the local press, or in the periodical publications of the public organization that nominated him. It is not authorized to edit without coordination with the deputy the materials that he has submitted for publication.

Article 18. Deputy's Duties In Connection With His Work in an Electoral Okrug

In their electoral okrugs, deputies are required:

- regularly to inform the population, labor collectives, and local agencies of the public organizations that nominated them concerning the work of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of people's deputies, concerning the fulfillment of the plans and programs for economic and social development, the soviet decisions, the mandates issued by their constituents, and also of their pre-election programs;
- to participate in organizing and overseeing the execution of laws and the decisions of the soviet and its agencies;
- to study public opinion and the needs and demands of the population, and to report them to the soviet and its agencies, to make recommendations, and to take other steps to satisfy them;

—to promote the development of various forms of self-government, the social participation of the citizens, and their involvement in the administration of state and public affairs.

Article 19. The Deputy's Review of Citizens' Recommendations, Statements, and Complaints

A deputy reviews the recommendations, statements, and complaints that he received from his constituents, and takes steps to resolve them correctly and promptly. A TuSSR people's deputy at least once every two months, and a people's deputy to a local soviet every month, receives as visitors the citizens in the inhabited places in his electoral okrug. He has the right to invite to be present as participants in those meetings with the citizens various officials from state and public agencies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations situated on the territory of the electoral okrug.

The deputy studies the causes of the complains and makes his recommendations to the Supreme Soviet, the local soviet of people's deputies, or other state and public agencies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

A deputy has the right to oversee the review of the recommendations, statements, and complaints at state and public agencies, institutions, and organizations, and at enterprises situated on the territory of the soviets, and to take personal part in reviewing them. The officials of the state and public agencies and organizations are required to render assistance to the deputy in his oversight work.

Article 20. Deputy's Report to His Constituents and Public Organization

A TuSSR people's deputy periodically, but at least once a year, and a deputy to a local soviet at least twice a year, is required to give a report on his work, the rate of fulfillment of his pre-election program and of the mandates issued by his constituents, and the work of the soviet and those agencies to which he was elected, to his constituents and to the collectives and public organizations that nominated him as a candidate for election as deputy. The deputy's report can also be given in response to his constituents or members of the public organization that elected him, in the procedure established by USSR and TuSSR laws.

The deputy's reports are given at voter meetings that are scheduled for that purpose, and also at conferences of delegates of voters from the particular electoral okrug, and at plenums and conferences of agencies or members of the public organization that nominated him.

The meeting or conference at which the deputy's report is given adopts a decision containing the voters' recommendations and comments to the deputy, which decision is brought to the attention of the voters in the okrug.

The deputy informs his soviet about the report that was given, the voter recommendations that were received, and the rate of fulfilling them.

Article 21. Assisting the Deputy in Conducting His Reports and Meeting With His Constituents

Voter meetings and conferences at which the deputies give their reports and meet their constituents are scheduled by the soviet presidiums, the soviets of labor collectives, the local agencies of public organizations, and agencies of public self-government.

A deputy is provided with the necessary conditions for giving the reports and meeting his constituents and the members of the public organization that nominated him. For these purposes the presidium of the executive committee of the appropriate soviet, the local agencies of the public organization, and the administrators and public organizations of enterprises, institutions, and organizations assign a location and inform the citizens about the time and place where the deputy will be giving his report and meeting his constituents and members of the public organization, and where the deputy will be having receptions for the public, and send, on the basis of the deputy's invitation, for participation in the receptions and meetings their own responsible representatives, as well as taking other steps to assist the deputy in his work in the outlying areas.

Reference and informational materials necessary for the reports and statements are provided to the deputy upon his request, respectively, by the soviet presidium or the executive committee of the soviet of which he is a deputy, by the presidiums or executive committees of the soviets situated on the territory of the electoral okrug, or the agencies of the public organization that nominated him.

Article 22. Deputy's Participation in the Work of Lower-Level Soviets

A deputy on the territory of the soviet to which he has been elected has the right to participate, with a consultative vote, in sittings of the lower-level soviets and their agencies.

Article 23. Deputy's Appeal

A deputy has the right to appeal to all the state and public agencies, enterprises, and organizations and to officials with regard to questions linked with the deputy's work, and to take part in the review of the questions that have been raised. Those agencies and officials are required to give the deputy a reply to his appeal without any delay, or, when there is a need for additional study or verification, no later than one month after receipt of the appeal.

Deputy appeals dealing with the most important questions, including the necessity for the appropriate agency to make, change, or cancel a decision, are subject to review, respectively, by the soviet presidiums, executive committees of the soviets, the boards of ministries, state committees, and departments, or the TuSSR Council of Ministers. The deputy must be informed ahead of time concerning the day when the review will be carried out.

Article 24. Deputy's Right to Immediate Reception by Officials

With regard to questions of his deputy's work, a deputy enjoys the right to visit without any hindrance on the territory of the soviet the state and public agencies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, as well as the right to be received immediately by its administrators and other officials.

The procedure by which the deputies visit the organizations whose work is linked with state secrecy or other legally protected secrecy is established by law.

Article 25. Deputy's Right to Demand the Elimination of the Violation of Legality

A deputy who has encountered violations of the rights and legally protected interests of the citizens or any other violation of legality has the right, as a representative of state authority, to demand on the spot the cessation of the violation, and in necessary instances to address a demand to the appropriate agencies and officials to discontinue such violations. The fact of the violation can be recorded in minutes that are prepared by the deputy or, on his demand, by a representative of the appropriate law-enforcement or control agency.

The officials of state and public agencies, the administrators of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and militia workers to whom the deputy's demand has been addressed are required to take steps immediately to eliminate the violation and, when necessary, to bring the guilty individuals to responsibility and to inform the deputy subsequently about that. In the event that no steps are taken, the officials bear the disciplinary or criminal responsibility in the legally established procedure.

Article 26. Deputy Groups

For joint work among the constituents and in labor collectives to carry out their powers, the deputies to the local soviets can, on the basis of their mutual consent, unite into deputy groups.

TuSSR people's deputies can, if they so desire, become part of deputy groups formed by the appropriate local soviets.

IV. Organizing the Work With the Mandates Issued by the Voters and Public Organizations

Article 27. Mandates Issued to the People's Deputies

Mandates are instructions that have been issued during meetings with the candidates for election as people's deputies by meetings or conferences that represent the voters in the okrug, or, when the candidate is being nominated from public organizations, also by the congresses, conferences, or plenums of their republic, oblast, rayon, and city agencies.

Instructions that are viewed as mandates issued to the people's deputies of Turkmen SSR and to the local soviets of people's deputies are those instructions whose implementation falls within the jurisdiction of the appropriate republic or local agencies.

A candidate for election as a deputy has the right not to accept as a mandate a recommendation that has been made by a voter meeting or conference if it contradicts his pre-election program or for other valid reasons.

Article 28. Preparation and Making of Decisions Dealing With Mandates

The summarizing and preliminary reviewing of the mandates issued to the people's deputies of Turkmen SSR and to the local soviets of people's deputies are carried out, respectively, by the Presidium of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet and the TuSSR Council of Ministers, the presidiums and executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies, with the consideration of the recommendations and comments of the committees and permanent commissions of the soviets of people's deputies.

The soviets of people's deputies make decisions concerning the acceptance of mandates for execution. The soviet has the right to make a well-substantiated decision concerning the desirability or unfeasibility of individual mandates.

The soviets of people's deputies take the mandates into consideration when developing the plans for economic and social development and preparing the budget, and also when preparing decisions dealing with other questions. The steps to implement them are stated in the plans and in the budget in a special section.

Article 29. Organizing the Fulfillment of Mandates

The fulfillment of mandates accepted for execution by TuSSR Supreme Soviet is guaranteed by TuSSR Council of Ministers, and other state and public agencies, and the fulfillment of mandates accepted for execution by the local soviets of people's deputies is guaranteed by the their executive and directive agencies and by other local agencies.

The recommendations contained in the mandates issued to candidates who were not elected as deputies in the course of the election are sent to the appropriate agencies and officials for review and the taking of the appropriate steps.

The fulfillment of the mandates issued to TuSSR people's deputies is monitored by TuSSR Supreme Soviet, and those issued to the people's deputies of the local soviets of people's deputies, by the appropriate soviets of people's deputies.

The executive and directive agencies report at least once a year to the soviets of people's deputies concerning the rate of fulfillment of the decisions dealing with the mandates.

Article 30. Participation of the People's Deputy in Work With Mandates

People's deputies participate in the development and discussions of measures to implement the mandates, monitor their execution, and regularly inform the voters and public organizations about the rate of fulfillment of the mandates.

Article 31. Glasnost in Work With Mandates

The decisions made by TuSSR Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of people's deputies with regard to mandates are required to be published.

The mass media throw light on the rate of fulfillment of the mandates issued by the voters and the public organizations.

V. Basic Guarantees of the Deputy's Work**Article 32. Providing the Conditions in Which the Deputy Can Exercise His Powers**

The soviet, other state and public agencies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and their officials provide the necessary conditions in which the deputy can exercise his powers.

The presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the executive committee of the local soviet provide the deputies with the opportunity to use facilities for participating in the work of the appropriate Supreme Soviet, local soviet of people's deputies, their committees and permanent commissions, and deputy groups, and also to use the soviet's library collections and archives, communication means, and electronic-computer, organizational, copying, and printing equipment.

The enterprises, institutions, and organizations situated on the territory of the local soviet assist the soviet in using their electronic-computer, organizational, copying, and printing equipment for the purpose of supporting the deputy's work. State and public agencies and the enterprises, institutions, and organizations assist the people's deputies when performing their deputy work, in organizing their trips through the electoral okrug, in providing them with transportation, and in providing them with hotels on a non-reservation basis. TuSSR people's deputies who are performing permanent work at the Supreme Soviet are provided with official housing for the entire period if there is such a need.

Article 33. Releasing the Deputy From Production and Official Duties and Compensating Him For the Expenses Linked With His Deputy Duties

During the sessions of the Supreme Soviet or the local soviet of people's deputies, and also to carry out the deputy's work in other instances stipulated by the law, the deputy is released from the fulfillment of his production or official duties, and is compensated for the expenses linked with the deputy work, chargeable respectively to the republic or local budget.

A TuSSR people's deputy has the right to be released from the fulfillment of production or official duties for the period of time needed by the deputy to carry out his deputy work.

The instances and procedure for compensating TuSSR people's deputies for the expenses linked with the performance of their deputy work, as well as the procedure for granting leaves to TuSSR people's deputies who are performing permanent work at the Supreme Soviet, are defined by TuSSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 34. Deputy's Right to Receive Information and Consultant Advice. Rendering of Legal Assistance to the Deputy

The soviet presidium and the executive committee of the soviet provide the deputy with documents enacted by the Supreme Soviet or the local soviet of people's deputies, with official publications, and with informational materials of the soviet and its agencies.

State and public agencies and the administrators of enterprises, institutions, and organizations situated on the territory of the soviet are required, upon the deputy's request, to provide him with the consultative advice of specialists with regard to questions linked with his deputy work, and to provide him immediately with the information that he needs, or, if it is impossible to do so, within no more than a two-week deadline.

The soviet presidium, the executive committee of the soviet, and the administrators of enterprises, organizations, and scientific, educational, and legal institutions provide the deputy with assistance on legal questions that arise in his deputy work.

Article 35. Deputy's Right to Free Travel

A TuSSR people's deputy on the territory of the republic enjoys the right to free travel on all rail, motor, water, and air domestic means of transportation and all types of urban passenger transportation (with the exception of taxis).

The deputy to an oblast, rayon, city, city-rayon, settlement, or rural soviet correspondingly enjoys on the territory of the oblast, rayon, city, settlement, or rural soviet the right to free travel on motor and water transportation that is under republic jurisdiction and on all types of urban passenger transportation (with the exception of Taxis), and a deputy to an oblast or rayon soviet, also on rail and air transportation.

The procedure and conditions for the free travel of TuSSR people's deputies and people's deputies to local soviets of people's deputies, the procedure for making settlement with transportation organizations for such free travel, as well as the conditions in which the deputies can use personal motor transportation in connection with the performance of their deputy work, are defined by TuSSR Council of Ministers.

Article 36. Protection of the Deputy's Labor Rights, and the Rights of a Deputy Who Is a Member of the Military

A deputy cannot be fired on the initiative of the administrators (command element) from work at an enterprise, institution, or organization, or released from active military service, expelled from a kolkhoz (or other cooperative) or educational institution, or transferred by way of disciplinary punishment to work at a lower rate of pay (demoted) without the previous consent of the soviet.

A deputy who has been released from his production or official duties as a consequence of being electing to a soviet or its agencies, upon the expiration of his term of office, is given his previous work (service), or if that is not available, other equivalent work (service).

The time that the deputy has work in the soviet and its agencies is include in his total and continuous work longevity, and in his work (service) longevity in his specialty.

Article 37. Deputy Inviolability of TuSSR People's Deputies

A TuSSR people's deputy cannot be brought to criminal responsibility, arrested, or subjected to measures of administrative punishment that are imposable by court procedure, without the consent of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet.

A criminal case against a TuSSR people's deputy can be initiated only by the TuSSR procurator.

Article 38. Deputy Inviolability of Deputies to Local Soviets of People's Deputies

A deputy to an oblast, rayon, city, city-rayon, settlement, or rural soviet of people's deputies, on the territory of the appropriate soviet, cannot be brought to criminal responsibility, arrested, or subjected to measures of criminal punishment that are imposable by court procedure, without the consent of the appropriate soviet.

The procedure for initiating a criminal case against a deputy to a local soviet of people's deputies is defined by legislation of the USSR and Turkmen SSR.

Article 39. Procedure for Obtaining the Soviet's Consent to Bring a Deputy to Responsibility

In order to obtain the soviet's consent to bring a deputy to criminal responsibility, to arrest him, or to apply measures of administrative punishment that are imposable by legal procedure, the appropriate procurator makes a presentation to the soviet. That presentation can also be made by a procurator at a higher level.

The presentation is made before the accusation is accused, before the arrest warrant is issued, or before the case dealing with the administrative offense is sent to the court.

A procurator at a higher level can recall a presentation concerning the consent to bring the deputy to responsibility that has been made to the soviet by a procurator at a lower level.

The soviet reviews the procurator's presentation within a month's period and can request from the procurator additional materials that are necessary for resolving the question that has been raised in the presentation. The soviet makes a well-substantiated decision and within three days informs the procurator of it. When there are reasons for doing so, the soviet can reconsider its own decision. The deputy has the right to participate in the soviet's review of the question of his deputy inviolability.

In the event of nonagreement with the decision of the local soviet of people's deputies, the procurator at a higher level has the right to make a presentation at the respective soviet at a higher level concerning the overruling of the decision and the transferring of the question for a second review by the appropriate soviet. A rayon or city procurator also has the right to go to the appropriate rayon or city soviet with a presentation concerning the overruling of a decision made by a rural, settlement, or city (city-rayon) soviet and concerning the transferring of the question for a second review. If the soviet confirms the original decision, the question can be resolved in essence by the oblast soviet of people's deputies, or in rayons and cities of republic subordination, by TuSSR Supreme Soviet upon the presentation by the appropriate oblast or republic procurator.

If a procurator's presentation that has been made in the procedure stipulated by this article has not been reviewed by the local soviet of people's deputies within a month's time, the soviet at a higher level on the basis of a presentation by the corresponding procurator or one at a higher level, takes steps to guarantee its immediate review.

A procurator who has made a presentation to a soviet is required, within three days from the day of completion of initiating the case, to report to the soviet that gave its consent to bring the deputy to responsibility or to his arrest concerning the results of the investigation or the review of the case.

The receiving of consent to bring a deputy to a local soviet of people's deputies to criminal responsibility, to his arrest, or to the applying of measures of administrative punishment that are imposable by court procedure is not required if the crime or the administrative offense was committed by the deputy outside the territory of the soviet to which he was elected. In those instances when, by the moment of the resolution of the question of bringing a person to criminal responsibility, arresting him, or applying measures of administrative punishment that are imposable by court procedure, the deputy to a

local soviet of people's deputies is situated on the territory of the soviet to which he was elected, the receiving of such consent is carried out in the procedure established by this article.

Article 40. Deputy Identification Card and Deputy Lapel Pin

A deputy has a deputy identification card and a deputy lapel pin which are issued to him after the soviet has recognized the deputy's powers. The deputy uses the deputy identification card and deputy lapel pin during his tour of office.

In instances of the preterm cessation of deputy powers, the identification card and the deputy's lapel pin are returned to the soviet that issued them.

The statutes governing the identification cards and lapel pins of people's deputies, as well as the models of the identification cards and lapel pins for TuSSR people's deputies and deputies to local soviets of people's deputies, are approved by the Presidium of TuSSR Supreme Soviet.

S. Niyazov, chairman of TuSSR Supreme Soviet.

Ashkhabad, 23 May 1990.

Uzbek Communist Party Resolution Published

90US1110A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
12 Jun 90 p 1

[Resolution of the 22d Uzbek Communist Party Congress "On the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Political Report 'The Progress and Main Directions of Perestroyka, the Tasks of Securing the Sovereignty and Economic Independence of the Uzbek SSR and the Place and Role of the Uzbek Communist Party in the New Political System of the Country and the Republic'"]

[Text] The 22d Uzbek Communist Party Congress observes that the republic, like the country as a whole, is experiencing an exceptionally difficult, pivotal period. Perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost have stirred Communists and all working people to vigorous activity and have set in motion broad public forces. A difficult process of rethinking the past and of fundamental reforms of the political and economic systems is under way.

Great and irreparable damage has been done by deviations from the Leninist principles of nationality policy and the equal and mutually beneficial cooperation of the peoples. Uzbekistan has long been regarded mainly as a raw material base. Regional socioeconomic singularities have been ignored. The cotton monopoly was implanted by power pressure. The republic's economy has assumed a hypertrophied raw material nature and has not been oriented toward comprehensive development and the satisfaction of the urgent needs and vital requirements of the population.

The political sovereignty of the republic has been reduced to a formal slogan. Dogmatic views and simplistic approaches to the problems of national development and interethnic relations have led to a disregard for folk customs and traditions of the age-old history and cultural values of the Uzbek people.

The difficult situation which took shape under the influence of the administrative-command system is being made worse by a whole number of negative trends. There has been no appreciable progress in socioeconomic development, and the ecological situation continues to deteriorate, particularly in the Aral Sea area. Public demand for food and consumer goods is not being met, the imbalance in finances and monetary circulation has increased and the people's living standard is falling.

Questions of the solution of social and interethnic conflicts have assumed great seriousness. Together with the politicization and growth of the assertiveness of the masses attempts to destroy ideological and moral foundations and to disregard standards and values common to all mankind are being observed.

While confirming the soundness of the policy of self-cleansing and self-recovery of the Uzbek Communist Party, adopted at the start of perestroyka, the congress condemns the distortions which have accompanied its implementation. Sweeping charges against masses of honest workers, the unlawful defamation and unwarranted persecution of many party, soviet, and economic-management officials and voluntarism in restructuring the management of the national economy have lain as a heavy burden on the people's shoulders. The fact that the republic was headed by people lacking political will-power and incapable of defending the honor and dignity of the people of Uzbekistan contributed to these violations and distortions.

The need for the speediest surmounting of problems which have built up over years requires cardinal changes in the policy of the party organizations and a restructuring of their forms and methods of work. Having determined in the election platform the main directions of the national, socioeconomic, and spiritual development of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the increased well-being of the working people, the republic Communist Party has concentrated efforts on the realization of social programs and on organizing and political work in the masses. Measures adopted on the initiative of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee pertaining to the allocation to rural workers of additional parcels of land, the protection of mother and child, and an improvement in the material position of war veterans and invalids and the low-income strata of the population have gained the broad support and approval of the population. The introduction of the institution of the presidency and decisive steps to strengthen the mechanism for the execution of laws and maintaining discipline and public order have been greeted with satisfaction.

As a result it has been possible to gain control of the situation, and a process of restoration of the lost authority of the party bodies has begun. People have begun to treat the republic Communist Party with greater trust than hitherto and see it as an organized political force and expect of it further constructive actions.

To consent to and adopt for guidance the propositions and conclusions of the Political Report and to consider a most important task the achievement of the political sovereignty and economic independence of the Uzbek SSR within the framework of a renewed federation as a decisive condition of an acceleration of the republic's socioeconomic, state, national, and spiritual development, the efficient use of available potential and a fundamental improvement in the working people's living conditions.[sentence as published]

To deem the organizing work of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee in the period under review satisfactory. To approve the policy line pursued by the Central Committee lately.[sentences as published]

The congress approves the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Platform for the elections of people's deputies of the Uzbek SSR and the local soviets drawn up by the Central Committee "Guidelines of the National, Socioeconomic, and Spiritual Development of the Uzbek SSR and an Enhancement of the Well-Being of the Working People" and deems it necessary to recommend it to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet as the official program of the Uzbek Communist Party for determination of the practical paths of the republic's development and to concentrate the efforts of the party committees and primary party organizations and the Communists working in the soviets and state and public organizations on its continued realization.

Man and the satisfaction of his material and spiritual requirements and moral improvement should be put at the center of party policy here. In the course of preparing for the transition to a controlled market economy paramount attention should be paid to the formulation of measures pertaining to the social protection of the working people, particularly the low-income categories of workmen, pensioners, invalids, students and trainees.

To this end cardinal new approaches should be formulated in implementing economic policy, ensuring the republic's complete independence in the use of land, mineral and raw material resources, and the manufactured product and a diversity of forms of ownership, to change the focus and structure of the national economic complex and to strive for the maximum employment of the able-bodied population.

Elaboration of the corresponding programs and their presentation by way of legislative initiative to the republic Supreme Soviet and realization via laws and government decisions are a basic direction of the activity of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee under the new conditions.

The congress considers a most important task of the Uzbek Communist Party and all its components to be the increased ideological and political influence in the masses and the shaping of the public consciousness on the basis of the creative interpretation and development of Marxist-Leninist teaching.

The party committees should contribute to the establishment of the principles of general morality and the development and cleansing of all spheres of spiritual life, disclose and multiply the political, intellectual, and cultural potential of the people and help people understand the essence of ongoing phenomena and party policy and find their place in its realization.

It is essential to learn the practice of dialogue and cooperation with public and political organizations and movements adhering to constructive positions of perestroika and society's renewal on a socialist basis. At the same time, however, it is essential to emphatically rebuff extremist and separatist aspirations.

The congress roundly condemns administrative rule and bureaucratic command in the sphere of culture, residual approaches to its development, and the punitive measures toward and defamation of outstanding figures of literature and art of Uzbekistan which were allowed to occur in the past and supports the policy of the Communist Party Central Committee geared to their consistent rehabilitation. It is opposed to dogmatic and simplistic views of the Uzbek people's historical past and their national-cultural and linguistic heritage. The congress considers a most important task of the Uzbek Communist Party to be a revival of national culture and its spiritual and moral values, a strengthening of the official Uzbek language, and the broadening of its sphere of application.

The party organizations should attach paramount significance to the pursuit of a national and cultural policy which contributes to a strengthening of friendship between USSR peoples and all the nations and nationalities populating the republic and the assurance of citizens' rights and liberties, regardless of their national affiliation, language, and religious belief. It is essential to restore folk traditions and customs and enshrine the primordial values of the people of Uzbekistan—love of labor, respect of people, and an aspiration to honestly serve the motherland.

While championing and propagandizing the scientific-materialist world outlook, the Uzbek Communist Party emphatically condemns the voluntarist actions perpetrated in the past in respect of religion and supports assured freedom of worship, cooperation with religious organizations in the name of the affirmation of values common to all mankind and the participation of believers in the social and political and cultural life of the republic. It simultaneously opposes all manifestations of religious fanaticism and intolerance, intra-religious conflicts, the politicization of religious activity, and an incorrect attitude toward women.

The congress advocates the utmost strengthening of the independence of the Uzbek Communist Party, which is directly connected with the political and economic sovereignty of the republic. At the same time the congress supports the organizational and ideological unity of the CPSU and also opposes all attempts to split the party. Real assurance of the Communist Party's new role is impossible without profound restructuring, the renewal of its activity, and the consolidation of all healthy forces. It is essential that party committees and organizations assimilate a style and methods based on extensive democratization and glasnost. They should not in their activity enclose themselves in their internal life, and need to go more boldly to the people and the work force, get to know their mood better, be on top of the situation, forecast developments, and not avoid the solution of acute problems which are disturbing the population or a dialogue with all constructive forces.

It is necessary to ensure in practice the power of the party masses, a broadening of the rights of the primary party organizations and their increased independence, an enhanced role and authority of the elective bodies, and the creation of conditions for a free comparison of views, collegial discussion, and decision-making.

The congress stresses the need for the observance of discipline in all components of the party, the further development of the principles of democratic centralism, respect for the opinion of the minority and each Communist and the preservation of party comradeship.

In the new situation for the party the Central Committee, the oblast, city, and rayon committees, and the primary party organizations must revise personnel policy and abandon the formal-party schedule approach

in work. They must take advantage of their right to recommend candidates adhering to the positions of the Communist Party and struggle for their election or appointment to key positions in the organs of soviet power and state administration and in ideological establishments.

Under the conditions of the growing polarization of the political forces the congress believes it necessary to concentrate the attention of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee on the formulation of forms and methods of the realization of party policy in the soviets of people's deputies, trade union and youth movements, and other public formations. On this basis there should be constructive dialogue, the elaboration of joint programs for a solution of problems of social development, and support for their initiative and independence.

It is essential that the party committees and primary party organizations learn lessons from the completed report and election campaign and consolidate the accumulated experience. They should adopt exhaustive measures in respect of all proposals and critical observations received in the course of the reports and elections. And they should primarily devote attention to the solution of the questions on which satisfaction of the population's needs and urgent requirements depends.

The congress emphasizes that the Communists in all areas of state, economic, and cultural building are obliged to strictly implement party policy, set an example of responsibility for their assigned work and enhance by their actions the authority of the CPSU. There is for Communists today no more important task than the consolidation and cohesion of all healthy forces for taking the republic to qualitatively new frontiers of national and social progress.

Role of Tatar Supreme Soviet Examined

90US1021A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 7 Jun 90 pp 1-2

[Article by A. Pankratov: "Hunger Striker in the Volga Region"]

[Text] Kazan—"Well, do something!" pleaded the director of the city Internal Affairs Administration. "After all, you're politicians! The crowd just keeps growing. Something irreparable might happen. And then I'll be fired."

The deputies remained silent.

And out on the square in front of the party obkom, in whose hall Tataria's Supreme Soviet had gathered for its first session, a sea of people raged. It was seething around a car in which a bearded young man with flaming, sick eyes sat.

Behind the obkom building in cars with barred windows, special-purpose troops were checking their ammunition. Militia details stretched out across the entire city were awaiting their orders. But no order came.

The sanitation inspector Masgut Khafizov is now being written about in newspapers and discussed on the street and in kitchens. Meetings and conferences are devoted to him. Militia officers curse at the mention of his name. The local evening newspaper regularly informs its readers of the state of the rebellious sanitation inspector's health.

Just a half-year ago I would not have believed that Khafizov would hold a political hunger strike for 16 days in the center of Kazan on Liberty Square. In order to tell "the city and the world" about the political situation in the autonomous republic. In order for us all to reflect on our fate. Well, will we reflect?

It just happened that Kazan undertook to learn democracy before others. The "disease" progressed, demanding new victims. One of them turned out to be the previously neutral Khafizov—he became a member of the council of a constituents' club in Privolzhskiy Rayon and of the organizational committee for city rallies. And then the autonomous republic's new Law on Elections came out. According to it, not a single overly leftist democratic "mouse" was supposed to slip through. And, getting ahead of myself, I will say that even that disturber of the public peace Kazan University, which has two (!) USSR people's deputies and a rich experience, clearly lost the local elections.

What is there to say here about the vain efforts of the unorganized informal groups? The labor collectives and public organizations were reliably covered. Together with the club council, Masgut tried to organize meetings at places of residence. Alas.

By chance Khafizov found out about a plenum of the council of the All-Union Society of Inventors and

Efficiency Experts (Masgut, incidentally, has a degree as a public patent expert). He spoke at the plenum and won out in a contest against two rivals. The district election commission registered his nomination. A victory? If only it had been! A few days later the Tatar ASSR Central Election Commission revoked the decision.

All the lawlessness in our country has always been carried out according to the law.

D. Zaripov, secretary of Tataria's Central Election Commission and deputy chief of a department of the CPSU obkom, was one of the drafters of the republic Law on Elections. And hence it was not surprising that, following an unsuccessful search for "compromising evidence" (Khafizov had been nominated "cleanly"), the "piano in the bushes"—Article 32—came into play. The instrument, to be sure, proved to be slightly out of tune: was it really possible to confuse the participants in a plenum (as written in the article of the law) with the full official membership of the elective body of a public organization (the point on which the Central Election Commission played)? However, what is important to us is something else—how this was done!

How political instability was created out of practically nothing.

The next morning after the start of the hunger strike, the Supreme Soviet session began. Legislators, the chosen representatives of the people! There's who would resolve the conflict that had arisen!

And precisely—the first document signed by all the members of a deputies' commission declared a mistake on the part of the Central Election Commission. But the Supreme Soviet's leaders did not like it, so they proposed that the commission review its conclusions. And so it reviewed them! Then opinions were shared, and the session voted—for the need to amend the "raw" Law on Elections.

During this time rumors were going about Kazan, and Masgut Khafizov was sitting in his "glass menagerie" (that is what he calls the friends' car where he spent 16 days and nights). Hundreds of people visited the square. Rallies were held on the square. People were demanding a decision on Khafizov's "case." And the session hastily appointed members of Tataria's government.

For the umpteenth day now people were waiting at the deputies' entrance in order to speak up, but—Nearly half of the deputies are representatives of the party and economic-management aktiv, and they departed from the session in their personal cars! (Incidentally, one of them struck a pedestrian, and the details were kept quiet.) The "wheelless" deputies did not mind keeping themselves incognito, either—upon leaving they would remove or cover up their organizational buttons. But some could not be helped by attempted secrecy—they were recognized from their photographs, which had long been hanging on all the fences and walls.

Easter was drawing near. The militia's commanding officers were anxious. The taught string of expectations was ringing.

M. Sirazin, Tatar ASSR people's deputy and member of the commission on Khafizov's case:

"Passions heated up, and it was difficult to speak. Nonetheless, an agreement was reached that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet would meet on the following day and abrogate the Central Election Commission's decision. I went out, asked someone to give me a flag, and led the crowd away from the obkom, which was surrounded by militia cordons. A little farther away from them, in a calmer atmosphere, we answered questions. People seemed to believe us. And then the following day, Sunday, the Presidium that met suddenly took the side of the Central Election Commission, and then disappeared. After all that, I could not go out on the square again."

R. Akhmetov, deputy to the Kazan City Soviet and member of the Action Center of the People's Front of Tataria:

"We're constantly being called on to engage in constructive dialogue. We are entirely 'in favor.' But we are tired of a dialogue of the deaf with the dumb. We agreed on everything in a gentlemanly fashion, but as soon as things cooled off on the square, all the agreements were violated. Moreover, the Vakhitovskiy Rayon People's Court fined Khafizov's official representative M. Tleulinov 700 rubles for organizing an unsanctioned rally on Liberty Square! And that is in a situation in which the city soviet has long since 'opened' the capital's central square—rallies and demonstrations cannot now be banned there by citing the notorious ukase."

D. Zaripov, deputy chief of a department of the Tatar ASSR Obkom of the CPSU, and secretary of the Tatar ASSR Central Election Commission:

"In general, I find it uncomfortable to speak. After all Khafizov is demanding my recall from the Central Election Commission. But I will speak. I do not understand him. He has no political discrimination! I agree that the law is still imperfect and that the note in Article 32 is unfortunate. But we acted in accordance with the interpretation of the Russian Central Election Commission. And why, after having rejected six candidates on the same grounds, are we supposed to make an exception for Khafizov?"

V. Kurnosov, secretary for ideology of the Leninskiy Rayon Committee of the Komsomol and deputy to the city soviet:

"I was on the square during tremendous crush, when Tleulinov proposed going around the militia cordon, which practically caused a tragedy. People in the crowd were shouting: 'Strike!' I asked them: 'Will you go organize one in your own collective?' No one answered me."

Some people may suspect the author of making a chance connection between the drama on the square and the political pulse of the province. Yet that is everyone's personal business. My own is to try to catch, amid the flood of tempestuous (and it really is tempestuous) local life, the significant facts.

FEBRUARY. The founding meeting of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU movement in Tataria.

A citywide rally on Liberty Square with a demand that secretaries of the CPSU obkom resign. Personal black Volgas change license plates.

Plain-looking leaflets appear signed by anarcho-syndicalists, the Radicals Party, and the Democratic Union. Among other issues, they raise that of removing the name of V. I. Ulyanov-Lenin from Kazan University.

MARCH. An assembly of university students. It turns out that the leaflets express the views of only a small group of people. The assembly does not succumb to the provocation, and it approves the idea of creating an independent Student Union.

The city's Initiative Constituents' Club brings together democratic organizations and movements on its platform.

The first session of the city soviet, at which the Interregional Deputies' Group is established.

APRIL. A plenum of the Tatar ASSR Obkom of the CPSU issues a strict reprimand to two obkom secretaries "for violating the norms of party ethics in dealing with the housing question."

M. Khafizov declares a political hunger strike.

On 22 April a wreath is placed at the monument to V. I. Lenin on Liberty Square—a wreath made of barbed wire. The authorities are silent about the matter.

Politics does not make people, the great Aristotle said; it takes them as nature has created them. And that is why it is so closely bound up with morality. Behind the platforms, maneuvers, speeches and resolutions, people strive to see, first and foremost, the human being, in order to decide for themselves whether he is a good man or a scoundrel, a hypocrite or a fighter.

Maybe that is why the newspaper reports about the "secret" river run of a special OM-73 shook up the city so much. The reporters' investigation is still going on, but many Kazan residents are convinced that it was by no means a business cruise with the top leaders that it made at the very height of Khafizov's hunger strike. VECHERNYAYA KAZAN publishes a relatively unconvincing response by the river port's director V. Nefedrov, and it emphasizes with satisfaction that he was recently elected deputy chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet.

No, even if there was nothing to it (let us suppose), was that really necessary—time after time to “leave themselves open” in such a fashion, taking away, with each step, people’s last grains of trust in local authority. Indeed, to paraphrase V. I. Lenin, no one can hamper authority if it does not hamper itself.

Nonetheless, it is probably no accident that all the resignations of obkoms, gorkoms, etc. have begun with “compromising acts” associated with everyday matters, with infractions that have been remote from politics. For it really is true, as my acquaintances in informal organizations say, that no party in any era will take the place of our intelligence, honor and conscience.

But let us return to our hero.

In City Clinical Hospital No 6, which Khafizov chose for his recuperation, I find him in the office of the division head. Dusty boxes of medicines, old newspapers, cans of dried fruits, dirty milk bottles, trousers thrown on the table. A refrigerator, a television, a telephone, a set of floor scales, a typewriter. There Masgut is restoring his strength without stopping his political activity: he is polishing up his program and preparing a statement for television and the press. A nurse cautiously looks in at the door and invites him to be examined. The patient drags on a cigarette and asks her to wait a bit—he is having a discussion with a journalist.

“I understand,” Masgut says in a toneless voice. “The Yeltsin variant has come into play. But people are still in a state in which they react only to a cry of ‘Stop the thief!’ And today the only way to protect the rights of the minority is through rallies and public opinion.”

“Excuse me, but a rally is precisely where the minority will never receive its rights.”

“Yes, voters’ sophistication is still low, and I personally favor the parliamentary, constructive path. But we democrats are not being allowed to embark on it.”

“Fine. Suppose you’ve become a deputy. What next?”

“First, work to achieve laws on the status of the deputy and the mechanism for recalling one, laws on referendums and on information, and of course, amendments to the election legislation. We no longer have time to wait. And here only the people can speak its word; it should decide the question of deputies’ occupational fitness.”

“Masgut, but aren’t you bothered by the fact that you are attempting to get what you want by methods that are far from parliamentary?”

“But what is left to be done? The partocracy has moved entirely into the deputies’ seats, accomplishing a quiet, de facto seizure of power. Tataria’s new Supreme Soviet is probably even more conservative than the previous one. Understand me: I was not fighting for a seat but against numerous violations of the Law on elections that

allowed the party elite to win. Against infringement on the civil rights of the individual, against political and spiritual slavery.”

“But the well-fed person will never understand the hungry person! Did you possibly hope that someone would voluntarily give up power, that you could prove something—even at the cost of your life—to people who simply have no need for democracy?”

“25,000 Kazan residents and inhabitants of Tataria signed the appeal in support of my hunger strike. Those two weeks on the square opened many people’s eyes. I will not forget, for example, the married couple that spent practically their entire vacation in my support group, or the women who came every day. And how many appeals to the Supreme Soviet there were from labor collectives! On Liberty Square, if only for a moment, a real civil society existed.”

In part, Masgut has proved right: he managed to arouse a tired people that was overly sated with all sorts of politics. After the hunger strike, practically twice as many people as needed came to the place-of-residence meeting to nominate Khafizov. They wanted just one thing: to see Masgut with their own eyes—a rumor had gotten started that he had died. Thus political heroes are born!

Politics, of course, is not a textbook on morality; it works by results, not methods. Nonetheless.

If someone undertakes to die for his cause, that by no means indicates that there is something to that cause. In all ages, sufferings and martyrs’ deaths have been contagious. And it is precisely martyrs who have caused the greatest damage to the truth.

Khafizov, unquestionably, was forced to resort to such a step. And I believe that he was fighting not for his seat but against injustice. But it is important, nonetheless, to understand: was the price of the hunger strike commensurate with the impasse of political instability that arose as a result of it? Weren’t cause and effect in some cases mixed up?

I respect Masgut Khafizov for resolve, principle and even courage, but I confess that I can never place his act on the same level as the hunger strike of Mahatma Gandhi that stirred India to independence, the hunger strike of Andrey Sakharov, who was exiled under KGB surveillance to Gorkiy, or the hunger strike of the Georgian woman journalist Nazi Shamaauri, who was thrown into a psychiatric hospital for her articles exposing abuses. They found themselves in circumstances in which they had no other way out. They had no other means of resisting a reality that outmatched them.

Khafizov (like the People’s Front that threw all its forces into his support) still had another way out.

“Maximalism and doctrinairism,” wrote the Russian philosopher Prince Ye. Trubetskoy, “threaten to halt all public life in our country: it is impossible to study in

school, because we lack 'truly democratic schools'; it is impossible to legislate in parliament, because we lack 'genuinely popular representation.' No regime of any sort can be tolerated until power passes into the hands of the people.

"What does it matter that we are thereby plunging the people into poverty, destroying all security, endlessly continuing a hopeless partisan war, and creating a reactionary force? Our goal is not the human being, not his welfare and happiness, but a **formula**."

The old religion—the product of authoritarianism and ideological diktat—is obsolete. We are once again being asked to have faith in a new, democratic one. Otherwise—ultimatums, strikes, hunger strikes and chaos. Humanity has always found it more pleasant to see gestures than to listen to arguments. But if it is true, as Masgut says, that he is fighting for freedom, is it a good idea to instill a new dependence in people? No ephemeral values of the political market will replace the genuine liberation of creative energy and conscious struggle for one's own happiness.

In Kazan right now many people are asking how the local authorities will take unpopular decisions (and such decisions may be necessary) if they were unable to untangle the knot on Liberty Square. And I am concerned that a democracy implanted "by any means" will be compromised from the very start. We speak a lot about the role of the individual in perestroika and are awaiting the arrival of new people. And now they are arriving, young politicians. More precisely, we ourselves are creating them. Alas, according to our own likeness and image.

We are moving toward an economic market without noticing we have no less need for (and possibly, need above all) a market in individuals. A choice only between "reactionaries" and "extremists," you will agree, is no choice at all, but a new compulsion.

In the minds of many people (really, many!), Masgut Khafizov has today become new evidence that an ordinary person "who lives by the truth" can defeat the totalitarian, unjust system. Someone has dubbed him the "local [Haider]," recalling the naive attempt of the American doctor to prove his point at any cost. People in rich and free America regarded the man who was staging a hunger strike near the White House as an eccentric. But in the hungry Volga region that has been brought to the final stage of despair, where people are struggling outside empty shops, a hunger striker smacks more of the theater of the absurd. I doubt that anything constructive can come from passive protest. This is all the more troubling in that, since the "euphoria" of the Congresses of People's Deputies has subsided, it has become clear that civil society, a society of accord, can emerge only from below

in our country. And while established or not-yet-established politicians, together with the press, have kept repeating the new myth—"the people will not understand," "the crowd could care less for individual liberty," "the masses are ungovernable," etc.—a different life has already been going on on the squares, in dilapidated Houses of Culture, and in strike committees. And it is simply impossible to ignore it any longer, even for the sake of good strategic interests. We will explode. We will stage a mass "hara-kiri." We will become utterly impoverished.

No matter how much we talk about turning power over to the soviets, until the people has in practice recognized that power as its own, it will not stand firm. And the problem is not just in bad laws, the intrigues of the apparatus, and the attacks of conservatives! The way out of the political impasse lies not only in borrowing models of democracy, not in a hasty forced march to the market, and not even in greater glasnost—it lies first and foremost in ourselves!

I do not want to draw conclusions. All I want is for us to finally learn to think and act for ourselves. And, while making mistakes, even carrying some things too far, to make freedom our goal only in the event that it also provides freedom for others!

P.S. Masgut Khafizov was recently elected a Tatar ASSR people's deputy. I think with fear about what will happen if one time the whole Supreme Soviet fails to agree with him. And I very much want to be mistaken about this hero of the present day.

Gagauz National Movement Holds Congress

90P50050A Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 Jul 90 p 1

[Unattributed report]

[Text] An extraordinary Congress on the Gagauz national movement "Gagauz Khalky" took place in the city of Komrat. During this congress a resolution was adopted concerning the establishment of a Gagauz Autonomous Republic. All attempts of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR to declare the congress illegal and block its resolutions proved unsuccessful. The congress approved the national symbols of the Gagauz Autonomous Republic—the state flag, seal and anthem.

Statistics on German School Children in Kazakhstan

90P50051A Alma-Ata FREUNDSCHAFT in German 25 May 90 p 2

[Unattributed table: "Data of the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Public Education on the Number of German Children in General Education Schools in Kazakhstan in the 1989-1990 School Year"]

[Text]

Data of the Kazakh SSR Ministry for Public Education on the number of German children in General Education Schools in Kazakhstan in the 1989-1990 School Year

Oblast	No. of German Students	The No. of Which Learn German as Their Native Language	As a percentage
Akt'yubinsk	4218	175	4.15
Alma-Ata	9843	540	5.48
East Kazakhstan	2572	108	4.20
Dzhambul	8300	1837	22.13
Dzhezkagan	1540	196	12.72
Karaganda	19559	4518	23.00
Ks'yl-Orda	345	55	15.94
Kokchetav	14655	1367	9.32
Kustanay	17571	2217	12.61
Pavlodar	15745	2047	13.00
North Kazakhstan	8560	756	8.83
Semipalatinsk	4457	360	8.07
Taldy-Kurgan	6374	1388	21.77
Uralsk	593	55	9.27
Tselinograd	17992	3355	18.64
Chimkent	7194	1257	17.43
The capital Alma-Ata	1623	54	3.32
Total:	141141	20282	14.37

Uzbek Author Solikh Discusses 'ERK,' Language Issue

90US1120A Tashkent KOMSOMOLETS
UZBEKISTANA in Russian 15 Jun 90 p 3

[Interview with poet Mukhammad Solikh by Rustam Kadyrov: "I Dream of Writing Verse"; date, location not given]

[Text] His name is well-known here in the republic and beyond its borders. He is a poet, a publicist, the author of several books, the secretary of the Uzbek SSR Writers Union, and Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet deputy. Recently Mukhammad Solikh returned from a trip abroad. Our correspondent Rustam Kadyrov talks with him.

[Correspondent] Tell us, please, about your trip abroad; what was it devoted to and what were your impressions?

[Solikh] At the invitation of the U.S. Government, I visited that country. The program of this trip was entitled "U.S. Ethnic Problems and Policy." We studied the living conditions of various ethnic groups of the U.S., and familiarized ourselves with their problems, met with leaders of the so-called lobby groups. Of course, the

situation that we are in is completely distinct from that in which the Americans live. There, it came about historically that almost all ethnic groups came to America; they chose that country as their homeland, and our national groups are living from time immemorial on their own land. Conflicts such as those that we have here, for example, among the Azerbaijanis and Armenians, or the Uzbeks and the Meskhetian Turks are simply not found there, because their social level of life differs significantly from ours. I feel that the conflict between the Uzbeks and the Turks is not associated with hating one another, but with the fact that under them lie deep social causes.

[Correspondent] Is there useful experience that could possibly be adopted in order to change the situation both in the republic and the country?

[Solikh] Sometimes there emerge in the U.S. contentious issues of an economic nature, but they are all resolved by administrative measures. It is possible, of course, to study their experience, yet it is hardly possible to apply it to the conditions of our life. In America, every state has greater authority than our republic, despite the fact that the U.S. is essentially a unitary state. Our republics do not even have rights such as the states have. Thinking about the future structure of our Union, it is necessary to touch upon the issue, how necessary to us is this so-called federation? Now they are saying: the renewed federation, even though we did not have any federation at all; the USSR has always been a unitary state. The greater the independence, the better it will be for both us and for the center. Nor is it in vain that the people's deputies of Russia are speaking of their departure from the USSR; even though this perhaps sounds highfalutin, they are all the same capturing the essence that to live next to a free neighbor is better than to live with a subordinate neighbor, since there is always a threat stemming from a subordinate.

[Correspondent] Let's return to our internal affairs. Parliamentarianism had never existed in our republic. And now the new body of the republic Supreme Soviet has been formed, with you as a deputy. Tell me, can this body be called a genuine parliament, like the ones they have in civilized countries?

[Solikh] I think that we still don't have a genuine parliament. There are commissions, committees, but it has not yet come together as a parliament. Judging by the composition of these commissions, it seems to me that there are on them very few people who could work in a genuine fashion. A great many incompetent people are put on commissions, people who have a poor understanding of issues of policy, economics, and the law. Apparently, we will restructure ourselves, and review the bodies of the commissions. Those who were proposed at the first session, in my view, are far from perfect. A parliament has to be created.

Unfortunately, I could not participate in the work of the first session, since I was in America. We are now

preparing a range of very important issues concerning the sovereignty of the republic; we will introduce them for discussion at the second session. I think that all the same, we have free-thinking, interesting deputies, and I hope that we can affect the course of events, and animate our body of deputies.

[Correspondent] You are one of the co-chairmen of the new movement, "Erk." Please tell us about the composition, goals, and tasks of this movement.

[Solikh] First of all, "Erk" is no longer a movement. On 11 March, the popular movement "Erk" was declared a political party. It bears the title of the Democratic Party "Erk." The founding congress of this party took place on 30 April, and of four candidates, I was elected chairman there. The organizational period is now under way. The intelligentsia comprises ninety percent of the DPE [Democratic Party "Erk"]. Committees are already being created in oblasts and rayons, and I think that by the end of the year, we will become one of the republic's influential political organizations.

[Correspondent] Meaning that it is possible to say that a multiparty system is forming in the republic, even though our conditions are somewhat different from those created in Russia and in other republics?

[Solikh] Naturally, since if such parties are appearing, that means that there are already the preconditions for it. The thing is that a multitude of various parties can appear, but not all of them are capable of surviving and defining themselves as a real political force. First of all, a platform acceptable to certain strata is necessary; then the organizational capabilities of its leadership and a style of work capable of adapting to the realities of the present.

[Correspondent] You said that not all the new parties can survive today. In my opinion, a party's viability depends on what kind of economic program it offers. What does the Democratic Party "Erk" offer, and are there experienced economists in your ranks?

[Solikh] We are now attracting to our ranks economists, sociologists, and other scientists. For the time being, we are at the stage of creation; we are forming groups of experts. It is natural that every party must have both a political and an economic platform. Until we have the independence of which we speak in our program, it makes no sense to speak of any sort of original economic model. DPE declares that our people must proclaim the republic's sovereignty, in whatever form it takes. Perhaps this will be a confederation, a federation, or maybe, leaving the body of the USSR. All three points must be included in the agenda of the future public referendum.

[Correspondent] How are DPE relations coming along with the Uzbek CP and other political movements and organizations of the republic?

[Solikh] As in our relations with other organizations, in relations with the CPSU, we adhere to the principle of

dialogue. We are prepared to enter into a dialogue with everyone. We do not regard communists with enmity. Many of those who stood at the sources of the people's movements were also communists. We criticize their program, and we don't accept many places in their platform, but that doesn't mean that we must isolate ourselves from them and not enter into a dialogue with them.

[Correspondent] A notice slipped into the newspaper KOMMERSANT about there having been created in Moscow an anti-fascist committee, and that its representatives intend to visit one of the cities of Central Asia, where, in their view, fascist tendencies have been noted.

What do you think, do we have in Uzbekistan the ground for the emergence of a fascist or nazi ideology?

[Solikh] I don't know whether or not circles that reflect pro-fascist views exist here. But if the representatives of this committee wish to come here, let them come. We are building a democratic society, and we must protect our dream from the moods you speak of.

[Correspondent] You were one of the leaders of the movement to give the Uzbek language the status of the republic state language. This law has been adopted, but there are now arising negative tendencies, while that law is being implemented at times by administrative, forced methods. At some enterprises where the majority of the specialists are Russian-speaking, all the documentation is being translated into Uzbek, and people are forced to resign; a knowledge of the Uzbek language is sometimes becoming a means of advancement for incompetent people on the employment ladder. What did you mean for this law to be?

[Solikh] True, the law was adopted a tad late; of course, it should have been adopted sooner. It doesn't satisfy me personally. All the same, I am glad that it has been adopted. The thing is, it used to be that incompetent people advanced only because they knew Russian. Now it works out to be the opposite; of course, these are two extremes, and here a differentiated approach is necessary. But don't you see, one evil generates another. This is the result of the fact that over the course of 72 years we endured discrimination with regard to our native language. The peoples living in Uzbekistan have to know this language, but to demand it in a hurry today, of course, cannot be permitted. In the beginning, it is necessary to create the conditions necessary to study the language. It is natural that various negative phenomena arise after the adoption of such a law. It is very complicated to bring such a decision to life, and we hope for the good will of the non-Uzbek population, for their sympathy and support. It is possible to resolve these issues locally, and to resolve them justly. And the discriminatory aspects should be stopped. In general, I am against any discrimination.

[Correspondent] The society of the republic is quite troubled by the question linked with youth being called

into the army. As a people's deputy, you are probably not on the sidelines of this problem?

[Solikh] This question troubles us very much. I have met with young soldiers who have run away from their units. These kids are physically and morally overwhelmed, and I can't call them deserters. They simply had no other way out. They said that it is not only the long-term sergeants and soldiers, but many officers who regard soldiers of Central Asian nationalities as second-class people. This is the first problem. The second one is that almost all of our children are unhealthy. If a careful check were to be done, I am convinced that over 80 percent of our youths would turn out to be sick. This is a terrible tragedy. The poisonous chemicals of which we have written so much have had a disastrous effect on the health of our entire nation. More than 3 million people in our republic have had hepatitis; can you imagine what percentage of the total number of Uzbek people this is? An enormous number of children are being born deformed, and disease has penetrated the genetics even of those who are born normal. Not only the young recruits, but the entire Uzbek nation as a whole is ill. This catastrophe is no less terrible than the Aral Sea or Chernobyl. Radical solutions are needed here, too; our youths must serve only in the Turkestan military district. The solutions that were recently adopted by the republic government are only half-way measures.

[Correspondent] You are a fairly well-known and popular man. Our readers are often interested in you. Tell us a little about yourself. Do you Khorezm origins interfere with your activity here in Tashkent?

[Solikh] As far as my Khorezm origins are concerned, I've never thought about it. I am an Uzbek, and I never separated myself from the language and culture of my people. I don't recall any small-town attitudes affecting

my activity. I'm 41, and I have always written verse; for a while, I worked in the cinema, and for 2 years now I've worked as the secretary of the Uzbek Writers Union.

[Correspondent] Do you believe in god?

[Solikh] Yes, I do.

[Correspondent] You're a poet; aren't you tired of politics?

[Solikh] We didn't take up politics of our own accord. Life itself forced us to get involved. I haven't written verse in a long time. I write primarily publicistic work. I dream of returning to poetry; I think that I can still write verse. But when a real political fight is taking place in society, it's impossible to sit doing nothing and observe the brawlers. Circumstances tear you out of your quiet life and throw you into the gulf of these passions. For the time being, I can't tear myself out of the gulf; but as soon as the opportunity presents itself, I will get back to writing verse.

While this issue was being put out. This interview was recorded several days before the events in Osh Oblast. I called Mukhammad Solikh and requested that he speak out on this urgent topic.

"The events taking place in Osh Oblast are similar to the events in Fergana not only in the date. The preconditions that preceded them are identical. This conflict has ripened not over a single month, but over several years. Apparently, there are circles for whom destabilization is advantageous. After all, this is a true method to turn around all democratic processes. What kind of democracy can we be talking about when two peoples are putting each other up to the wall, and order can be restored only with tanks? Along with the entire people, I grieve for the dead and appeal to both sides for common sense."

Constitutional Oversight Committee On Settling Labor Disputes*90UN2299 Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Jul 90 p 3*

["USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee Resolution"]

[Text] As we have reported already, on 21 June there was a session of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee at which it was concluded that legal enactments which deprive some categories of citizens of the opportunity to defend their rights in court in labor disputes are inconsistent with the provisions of the national Constitution. Today we are publishing the document which the Committee ratified.

Resolution of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee: On the Inconsistency With the Constitution and Laws of the USSR and International Acts on Human Rights of Legislative Standards Which Exclude a Number of Categories of Workers From Judicial Review Procedures In Individual Labor Disputes

Having reviewed the issue of whether legislative standards which exclude judicial review procedures in individual labor disputes are consistent with Article 58 of the USSR Constitution and with international acts on human rights;

Considering that the constitutional guarantee of the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens of the USSR includes the opportunity for recourse to legal protection whenever these rights are infringed by the illegal actions of government agencies or officials;

Recognizing the necessity for correcting occurrences of social injustice and raising the level of public protection of the individual in the sphere of labor relations;

Assuming that workers must be guaranteed equal opportunity for the protection and unimpeded execution of their labor rights, including the means to appeal to the court;

Taking into consideration Article 7 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, which proclaims that all men are equal before the law and have the right, without exception, to equal protection under the law, and Article 8 of this document on the right of every man to prompt restoration of his rights by qualified national courts whenever the fundamental rights granted to him by the Constitution and the law are violated;

Taking into consideration the provisions of Point 3c, Article 2 of the 1966 International Pact on Civil and Political Rights on guaranteeing every person whose rights and freedoms have been violated the right to legal protection, including judicial protection;

Proceeding from the fact that Article 58 of the USSR Constitution, Article 7 of The Principles of USSR and Union Republic Legislation On the Judicial System, and Article 1 of the USSR law "On Procedures for Appealing

Before the Courts Illegal Actions by Government Management Agencies and Officials Which Infringe on the Rights of Citizens" guarantee to citizens judicial protection of their rights and guarantee that any procedure for protecting the rights of citizens, including labor rights, can be established only by law;

Considering that legislation which excludes for a number of categories of workers judicial review procedures in labor disputes over the issues of dismissal, changes in the wording of the reasons for dismissal, transfer to another job, and the imposition of disciplinary penalties restricts without grounds the labor rights of citizens;

Considering that the USSR Supreme Soviet approved in its first reading on 8 June 1990 and plans to ratify in September and October 1990 draft legislative acts on procedures for the resolution of individual labor disputes and the broadening of judicial protection for the labor rights of citizens;

And under Articles 12 and 18 of the USSR Law "On USSR Constitutional Oversight";

The USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee has concluded:

1. The following enforceable enactments and separate provisions of enactments, which exclude for a number of categories of workers judicial review procedures in labor disputes over the issues of dismissal, changes in the wording of the reasons for dismissal, transfer to another job and the imposition of disciplinary penalties, are inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution and Laws of the USSR and, on the basis of Article 124 of the USSR Constitution and Article 21 of the USSR Law "On USSR Constitutional Oversight", are declared invalid:

Article 94 of The Principles of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Labor;

Point "A", Article 38 and Articles 41-43 of the Statute on Procedures for the Review of Labor Disputes, ratified by the 20 May 1974 decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the part which excludes judicial review procedures in the resolution of labor disputes for the categories of workers mentioned in these articles of the Statute and its Appendix No 1 (list no. 1 of the categories of workers whose labor disputes over the issues of dismissal, changes in the wording of the reasons for dismissal, transfer to another job, or the imposition of disciplinary penalties are resolved by higher administrative departments; list no. 2 of the categories of workers whose labor disputes over the issues of dismissal or changes in the wording of the reasons for dismissal are resolved by higher administrative departments if dismissal is carried out in connection with the acknowledgment of the worker in accordance with established procedures by other than the appropriate official or in connection with non-selection for a new period);

The 7 May 1974 decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On Procedures For Review of Labor

Disputes Over The Issues of Dismissal or Changes in the Wording of the Reasons for Dismissal of General Education Teachers Acknowledged as a Result of Recommendation by Other Than the Appropriate Officials”;

Paragraph 3 of Article 12 of the 13 July 1929 declaration of the USSR Central Executive Committee (TsIK) and Council of Peoples' Commissars (SNK) “On the Principles of USSR and Union Republic Disciplinary Legislation”;

Paragraph 2 of Article 7 of the USSR TsIK and SNK declaration of 7 July 1932, No. 42/904, “On the Accountability of Workers at Institutions and on the Management Staffs of Economic Departments for Violating General or Fire Prevention Regulations in Official Buildings and Premises or the Regulations for Preservation of Official Documents”;

Paragraph 3, Point 1 of the USSR Council of Ministers decree of 1 March 1986, No. 282, “On Procedures for Formulation of the Creative Staffs of Theaters, Concert Organizations and Artists Collectives”;

Point 3 of the USSR Council of Ministers declaration of 29 January 1987, No. 119, “On procedures for Formulation of the Creative Staffs of Organizations in the System of the USSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasts”.

2. In connection with the fact that the enforceable enactments or separate provisions of enactments mentioned in this Resolution are invalidated, to recognize that disciplinary regulations under the attached list, and also any active enforceable enactments of the Government of the USSR which provide for review by higher administrative departments of the individual labor disputes of some categories of workers over the issues of dismissal, changes in the wording of the reasons for dismissal, transfer to another job, and the imposition of disciplinary penalties, do not exclude the possibility of worker appeals to the court on these issues.

3. To proceed from the fact that court appeal procedures for workers, whose right to judicial protection during resolution of labor disputes is established by this resolution, will be in accordance with Article 22 of the USSR Law “On USSR Constitutional Oversight”, established over a three month period by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

4. This resolution by the committee does not exclude the possibility of establishing legally other procedures for review of disputes over the issues of discharges from work, changes in the wording of the reasons for discharge from work, transfer to another job, or the imposition of disciplinary penalties against officials who occupy high level positions and perform functions which, in accordance with accepted international and legal standards, are generally recognized as belonging to policy making or management, or are of a strictly confidential nature.

S.S. Alekseyev, chairman, USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee

Latvian People's Front Militia Scored

90UN2372 Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 7 Jul 90 p 3

[Article by V. Proskura (Riga): “Will the Special Detachments Help the Minister?”; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] The idea of the independence of law enforcement agencies—i.e., their adherence to law and their freedom from subjection to authoritarian orders and political pressure—has been a matter of great importance to the Latvian public since the very beginning of perestroika. Events took a completely different turn, however, as time went by.

The Communist Party newspaper, SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, made an interesting comment in this context: “When the People's Front held its first rallies and sent out its first picketers with insulting slogans against the ‘migrants’ and ‘occupants,’ the news media, which had been turned over to opportunists by the CPLa Central Committee of that time, loudly insisted upon the pluralism of opinions, wide-ranging glasnost, and democracy. As soon as the PFL supporters won the majority of deputy mandates in many local soviets and the Supreme Soviet in the republic, however, they quickly put an end to pluralism.... Any disagreement with the plans of the Front's council is regarded as intolerable, and nonconformism evokes fierce condemnation.”

Is it possible that the newspaper of a party which is now in the opposition is exaggerating? Is it possible that the PFL leaders' proposed de-politicization of law enforcement agencies is actually an attempt to “exercise democracy”?

One of the new Latvian Council of Ministers' first decrees authorized the creation of “special territorial detachments.” It is true that Chairman A. Gorbunov of the Supreme Soviet went on television to warn the public against the formation of law enforcement squads “along party lines.” The PFL guards of law and order—the “kartibas sargi”—were immediately legitimized, however, and after this the unconstitutional Latvian Committee, formed by the “Citizens' Congress,” the offspring of another sociopolitical organization—the Movement for National Independence—advised the restoration of the ayzsarg (“defender”) units.

By signing a “pledge” resembling a loyalty oath, today's PFL guards affirm their acknowledgement of the “Declaration of Latvian Independence,” although an ukase issued by the president of the country stipulates that it has not had any legal force since the time of its adoption, and declare their unconditional support for the political line of the Front. As for the ayzsargs, it is no secret that they were the supporting pillar of K. Ulmanis' dictatorship in bourgeois Latvia during and after the pro-Fascist coup of 1934. Many of the “defenders” later served on the police force of the Hitlerist occupation troops.

When the "special detachments" were being debated in parliament, PFL President D. Ivans, who presided over the session in his capacity as first deputy chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet, remarked that "our front has no protective squads." It is true that Second Deputy Chairman A. Krastinsh of the Supreme Soviet, a member of the board of the "movement" sponsoring the ayzsargs, did not say a word.... This parliamentary discussion was initiated by the internationalist "Equality" faction. It was literally on the next day that hundreds of guards from the national-radical camp "opposed" the demonstrations organized by the United Council of Labor Collectives in support of the ukase of the president of the USSR.

Today the leaders of the "special detachments" are already granting all sorts of interviews to the news media. The Internal Affairs Administration of the Riga gorispolkom resolutely objected to their participation in the obstruction of political demonstrations because they are usually not under the jurisdiction of the militia and act according to their own "party" discretion, especially now that the overwhelming majority of personnel in the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs have declared their loyalty to the constitutions of the USSR and the Latvian SSR while the PFL guards have followed their leaders' example in professing, to put it mildly, fundamentally different beliefs.

Consider the fact that the Latvian Ministry of Internal Affairs just recently had two...ministers. Through the efforts of the parliamentary "majority faction," A. Vaznis, a supporter of the PFL platform, was installed as minister of internal affairs, but the Ministry of Internal Affairs is a union-republic body, and an orderly transition demanded that the working minister B. Shteynbrik (a member of the CPLa Central Committee) obtain at least a directive from the union ministry to leave this office. This directive did not arrive for a long time, however, and whereas this intriguing situation (one

portfolio for two ministers) served uninvolved observers as an occasion for jokes in the press, it was not a laughing matter at all for the personnel of internal affairs agencies and the republic as a whole. Who was their boss? Whose orders were they supposed to follow in this complicated situation? How could conflicts within the agencies themselves be avoided?

A few days ago People's Deputy of the Latvian SSR P. Shapovalov, the chief of the "Plavniyek" militia division of the Moscow Rayon Internal Affairs Department in the city of Riga, went to Moscow with a group of colleagues at the request of the internationalist public and had meetings with the heads of the central departmental staff there. The republic press printed Shapovalov's report that people in the capital "are aware of the complexity of the situation, advise Latvian militiamen not to get discouraged, and promise moral support to B. Shteynbrik and the personnel who have remained loyal to their commitment." This information, however, did not bring about political rapprochement. The PFL government is supporting its own appointee and "has no intention of giving up its principles."

In short, the advertised de-politicization of law enforcement agencies is constantly revealing new and dramatic surprises, is stirring up political emotions, and is escalating public unrest.

When I was writing this article, the republic television network reported that the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs had finally consented to the appointment of the new minister of internal affairs in Latvia. The directive has been issued, but the problems remain....

The republic population is naturally wondering whom the "self-appointed" armies will serve. Incidentally, this is not the first time we have addressed this topic (see the article entitled "Armed and Extremely Dangerous" in the 5 July edition of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA). We feel that this problem is important enough to be discussed at a meeting of the Council of Presidential Advisers.

Leading Culture Figures Appeal for Aid

90UN2143A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian No 24 16 Jun 90 p 1

[Open Letter to the USSR President, USSR Supreme Soviet, and Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics: "Avert a Cultural Catastrophe"]

[Text] Most respected Mikhail Sergeyevich!

Most respected people's deputies!

Today, at this difficult moment for our country, we have decided to appeal to the leadership of the state in the name of the workers of culture, education, and art, members of creative unions, and everyone who cares about the fate of our country's culture. The situation in culture is very bad. We beg the government for assistance. We offer it ours.

To feed the people, to save and resurrect the people's culture and ethics—this is what is needed now above all. Everyone would agree to the former, but the latter? It is painful and terrible that in the eighth decade of Soviet power we have to recall the warning A. M. Gorky uttered back in 1918: "Culture is in danger!" We have to prove to the Supreme Soviet the importance of culture, education. It is embarrassing that the majority of such appeals—cries for assistance for culture, for schools—evoke a response in our society of stolid skepticism, indifference, and even irritation.

Enough indifference! Let us understand that when we talk about the collapse of the economy, the decline of morals, the brutalization of people, the rise in crime, the monstrous interethnic strife—the causes for this are not only political and not only social. The cause lies above all in the people's wholesale lack of culture. "Ignorance is the mother of all crimes," wrote Balzac. For 70 years culture has been pressured by the administrative-command system, entering into unequal struggle with amorality and feeble-mindedness.

Only in the era of perestroika has culture gained the opportunity for free flight of thought, for free development. But this historical chance may remain just that, a chance, if it doesn't receive effective, including material, support from society and the state.

Perhaps we could get along without quotations. Still, let us pause for a moment and listen to a thought, which belongs to Vissarion Belinskiy: "Where art holds no sway, people are not virtuous but merely sensible, not moral but merely cautious," he wrote. "A little longer and our . . . national wealth will increase. . . . We will be carpenters, we will be metalworkers, we will be manufacturers; but will we be people—that is the question!"

Culture and education—this may be the rudder we have to straighten if we are ever going to straighten the course of the whole ship of perestroika.

In recent years dozens of resolutions have been passed—on the theater, on the fine arts, on concert activity, on popular education, and much more. All of them have remained on paper. The residual principle of political and social ineptitude continues to stifle culture and hold back reform in popular education.

We realize the country is in a profound economic crisis. But why should culture and popular education—without which society loses meaning—be sacrificed? Culture is society's conscience, its ecology, its environment. Finally, it is the mirror of the social structure.

Like ten years ago, only 1.2 per cent of the state budget is spent on culture. This, let us note, includes expenditures for television, radio, film, and the press as well. Think about it: that means that the government spends less than three kopeks per person per day on cultural needs! Can a civilized society allow this for itself?!

It's no surprise that the country lags significantly in numbers of museums, theaters, libraries, symphony orchestras, and music schools behind not only the developed but also many developing countries of the world. We have 62 symphony orchestras, whereas in the United States, where, as we used to be told constantly, mass culture holds sway, there are more than one and a half thousand! Many of our major cities do not have theaters, museums, or concert and exhibit halls. There are no clubs in 17,000 settlements and villages with populations over 300. Only 1 in 20 children studies in a music school. Printing and paper production are in an impoverished state, which threatens the output of newspapers, magazines, and books.

A great number of rural rayons are unable to receive television broadcasts. The spiritual vacuum is filled by drinking, and fights and knifings have become daily occurrences.

Our ancestors perceived the loss of the library at Alexandria as a cultural catastrophe. Today about 2,400 libraries are in danger of destruction, including the Lenin State Library. What took the nation's intellect, spirit, talent centuries to create is about to perish; books, archives, works of art, architectural monuments are about to perish.

Culture workers' socioeconomic situation is very bad. Their average salary comes to only 135 rubles, that is, half as much as for the country overall. And the curators of village libraries and clubs with their ninety-ruble paychecks are living right on the edge of poverty.

There is a speedy drain of specialists from the sphere of culture and popular education. Talented musicians, performers, and artists continue to leave the country as before in search of more just appraisals of their labor. The nation's gene pool continues to suffer; creative schools and trends are dying before they were ever born; artistic collectives have been beheaded.

The passage of tax assessment laws in their present form also do not stimulate the development of culture. There's no point inventing anything; we propose following the same recipes known worldwide. Above all, we must offer tax benefits for enterprises, organizations, and individuals who channel their funds into financing culture, education, and health care. Economic accountability [khozraschetnye] and especially market relations put not only culture but also popular education in a complicated position. Culture has already advanced significantly down the path of commercialization. It's impossible not to see that this not only increases the artist's dependence on the tastes of the public. The strongest blow is inflicted on the children and young people. Today it's not so simple for a school child or college student to go to a concert or buy a book. Just who can we educate?

We turn to you, respected Mikhail Sergeyevich, and to you, respected people's deputies: wield all your authority and power in order to lend true priority to the development of our native culture and popular education.

Bertold Brecht said it exactly: "All forms of art serve the greatest art—the art of living on earth." One might add: culture is what remains after everything else is forgotten. If there were no culture there would be nothing.

We appeal to you, to your good will and common sense, to your patriotic feelings: exercise your legislative right. Do everything that depends on you, everything possible and impossible for culture's salvation.

On 28 June of this year culture workers and members of the creative unions and organizations shall demonstrate in defense of culture.

On that day at 7:30 P.M., in order to draw the public's attention to the needs of culture and education, we call on all our colleagues in all the theaters, cinemas, concert halls, palaces of culture, and other institutions of culture and art to stop their performances, concerts, and viewings for five minutes; and to hold meetings, gather signatures, and conduct other activities in our creative unions, journalism collectives, publishing houses, museums and libraries, clubs and parks throughout the day.

The truly critical, truly tortuous era in which we are living takes away our right to an indifferent or cold attitude toward culture and popular education, without which we face the loss of the criteria of good and evil and mental and moral decline.

I. Arkhipova, chairman of the Central Administration of the All-Union Music Society; A. Vasnetsov, chairman of the administration of the Union of Artists; N. Gubenko, minister of culture; A. Kamshalov, chairman of Goskino; V. Karpov, first secretary of the administration of the Union of Writers; K. Lavrov, chairman of the administration of the Union of Theatrical Artists; D. Likhachev, chairman of the Soviet Culture Fund; D. Mamleyev, first

*deputy chairman of the State Press Committee; I. Nau-
menko, chairman of the Central Committee of the Cul-
ture Workers Trade Union; M. Nenashev, chairman of
State Television and Radio; Yu. Platonov, first secretary
of the administration of the Union of Architects; I. Zayt-
sev, [i. o.] of the chairman of the administration of the
Union of Designers; B. Ugarov, president of the Academy
of Arts; T. Khrennikov, first secretary of the administra-
tion of the Union of Composers; D. Khudonazarov,
chairman of the administration of the Union of Cinema-
tographers; N. Chetverikov, chairman of the administra-
tion of VAAP [All-Union Copyright Association]; G. Yago-
din, chairman of the State Committee on Popular
Education.*

Solzhenitsyn Literary Representative Interviewed

90UN2144A Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Jun 90 p 4

[Interview with V. Borisov, NOVYY MIR publications department chief and A. I. Solzhenitsyn literary representative, with correspondent T. Kulikova: "Not to Live by the Lie"]

[Text] [Correspondent] Vadim Mikhaylovich, how did it happen that you became Solzhenitsyn's representative?

[Borisov] When the issue of publishing the writer's works in the USSR arose, it became clear that someone had to represent him in this country. I had met Aleksandr Isayevich over 20 years ago through his present wife Natalya Dmitriyevna. For this reason, Aleksandr Isayevich may have felt more comfortable asking me. Now I represent him in negotiations with journals and publishers.

[Correspondent] Our recent past consisted of two layers: the top, spun of lies and half-truths, gave one picture of reality, events and lives. Behind it there was the real world, which we only now are starting to fully understand. In those years, propaganda entities worked very hard to create the image of Solzhenitsyn as an enemy of the fatherland. How did Aleksandr Isayevich stand up under the weight of those ugly, unjust accusations?

[Borisov] The system of persecution is well developed in our country; many people, finding themselves between grindstones, broke down and gave in. But Solzhenitsyn withstood everything. This was why a savage form of punishment was applied to him: forcible exile from this country.

Aleksandr Isayevich is a man of extraordinary courage. He fought in the war and went through labor camps and prisons. While in internal exile, he was diagnosed with cancer, which is, as is well known, an incurable disease; yet, he overcame it thanks to his indomitable spirit. After all those privations, he was able to create masterpieces recognized by the entire world.

In 1974, Solzhenitsyn wrote an appeal entitled "Not to Live by the Lie!" The title reflected his own motto. He has always believed that lies eat into our brain, our spirit

and our life. All his works, from his youth to this day, have been devoted to our common cleansing from lies. He assumed a mission that seemed impossible for one individual: to free history of numerous pernicious layers and to pass it on to our children in this pure—as he sees it—form.

From A.I. Solzhenitsyn's appeal "Not to Live by the Lie":
"We have become so hopelessly inhuman that for a modest meal today we are willing to surrender all principles, our very soul and all the efforts of our forefathers—only not to disturb our miserable routine. We have no probity left, no pride and no heart-felt enthusiasm. We are not even afraid of a general nuclear holocaust, or World War III (we hope to hide in a crevice somewhere); the only thing we fear is anything involving civic courage. We only want to stay with the herd and not to make a single independent step, lest we find ourselves without our loaves of wheat bread, our gasoline station and our Moscow residency permit." (February 12, 1974)

[Correspondent] Did Aleksandr Isayevich ever envision perestroika? Did he ever hope to see his books legally restored to the Russian reader?

[Borisov] Of course, he never thought of it in exact same terms such as glasnost or perestroika. But he was absolutely convinced that cardinal changes would come. In his statement made after the publication of "GULAG Archipelago" abroad, and in response to the persecution campaign, he wrote that the time would come when that book would be read broadly, openly and freely in the USSR. In general, he has an amazing gift of clairvoyance. Almost all of his predictions come true.

[Correspondent] Does Aleksandr Isayevich follow events in our country? What does he think of them?

[Borisov] He lives in a remote corner of America and his information sources are rather limited. This is why his views probably do not always correspond to reality. But there are processes whose origins he himself witnessed while still in Russia and which he now sees develop in the current period of great changes. For instance, he thinks that the quarrels that are now occurring in our literary life are madness. This, incidentally, was the reason why he has postponed the publication of his old articles for several years. He claims that in this unstable situation his article could become timber stoking the fires of continued quarrels among us. In his view, we must go through this period of extremely severe crises with dignity and to concentrate all sound forces in our society to prevent the country from sliding into a catastrophe, instead of engaging in meaningless squabbles.

In addition to political and social events, Solzhenitsyn is naturally interested in readers' reaction to his works. NOVYY MIR gets massive amounts of mail about "GULAG" and I send the most interesting letters to Vermont. This is a great joy for Solzhenitsyn. Incidentally, the letters show that the propaganda campaign against Aleksandr Isayevich had very little effect.

I think that in recent years, the main tragedy for Aleksandr Isayevich as a writer has been the fact that he was cut off from the living human environment which he had grown used to. Before his exile, he had always been surrounded by a tight circle of people. They were his interlocutors, assistants and representatives of the people for whom he wrote but who were unable to read his works. Today, we witness not only the process of Solzhenitsyn being returned to the reader, but that of the reader being returned to Solzhenitsyn.

[Correspondent] You were recently in Vermont. Could you tell us how Solzhenitsyn lives?

[Borisov] One has few routine stories to tell about Solzhenitsyn. A man who works from six in the morning until late at night somehow drops out of real life. Aleksandr Isayevich lives in a private house, which he built to house his archive. It contains his library and study. The family lives in another house, which resembles a large peasant dwelling, except it has windows as large as the walls. Most of the time his children lived with him, but then they grew up and left home. His eldest studies Eastern cultures at a university. Another child is a musician; he is finishing his studies in London. The youngest is a college student. There, in Vermont, Aleksandr Isayevich has lived with his family and there, paradoxically though it may sound, his books, written back home, joined him as well. Separate chapters of the "GULAG" first came together on his desk in Vermont. Before, they had been kept separately, with friends and people he could trust, or smuggled to safety abroad. It was probably the first time that he was able to work freely, without any constraints.

[Correspondent] What are his relations with the emigre community?

[Borisov] The emigre community is a complex phenomenon, chronologically as well as socially and morally. Solzhenitsyn is on good terms with representatives of the first wave of Russian emigration. They were the living repositories of the historical memory which he has worked to save all his life. Thanks to their assistance, Solzhenitsyn has collected an enormous archive. Aleksandr Isayevich also benefited greatly from meeting those who in the tragic circumstances of World War II found themselves abroad. As to emigrants from the third wave, the majority of them are hostile to Solzhenitsyn.

There are several reasons for it. Aleksandr Isayevich lives like a hermit, he is completely absorbed in his work and does not take part in activities that are, alas, so common in the Russian emigre environment, i.e., endless squabbles in various emigre publications. In addition, he has said in many of his statements that he did not understand what moral right did those who left the motherland have to assume the role of teachers of the people they abandoned. Many can not forgive him this.

[Correspondent] Does Solzhenitsyn intend to return to the motherland?

[Borisov] He has said many times that he would never come to his native country as a tourist. Once he also said that he would die on his native soil. And since presentiments rarely deceive him, he may turn out to be right. The time of his return to Russia depends, first of all, directly on the broad publication of his works in this country. Secondly, it depends on when Solzhenitsyn gets his Soviet citizenship. Despite numerous appeals to the USSR Supreme Soviet both by organizations and private individuals, this issue has not been resolved yet.

[Correspondent] Aleksandr Isayevich understands that various political forces will try to exploit his return to Russia, does he not?

[Borisov] You mean, they hope that his name will lend them political weight? In my view, all such hopes are vain. Solzhenitsyn has always been a state unto himself. It is presumptuous, to say the least, to hope that in our life, which has become fragmented to a variety of social and political camps, Aleksandr Isayevich will throw his weight behind one of them.

Once the writer bitterly remarked: "People treat me worse than if I were dead." These words unfortunately contained a grain of truth. Some political and social forces are scouring his rich nonfiction legacy for quotations they particularly favor, interpreting them as they like. For instance, even though he knew that Solzhenitsyn forbade it, Roy Medvedev published "The Letter to the Soviet Leaders". All this naturally makes Aleksandr Isayevich protest, as do numerous stagings of his works. Our directors, without waiting for people to read the works themselves, offer their own artistic interpretation of the subject and the problem. No matter how talented they may be, it is no longer Solzhenitsyn. He is not concerned with the copyright problem (although that too would be logical), but with the violation of the writer's right to control the order of his dialogue with the people.

[Correspondent] I was very impressed with the "Letter to the Soviet Leaders". Since it has already been published, may I quote from it?

[Borisov] Why not?

Form the "Letter to the Soviet Leaders": "Everything has been drowned by lies, and everyone knows it, and says so openly in private conversations, laughing and complaining about it; yet, in official speeches everyone hypocritically says what he is supposed to say, and equally hypocritically reads and listens, bored, to other people's speeches—how much of society's energy is wasted on this? And you yourselves, when you open the newspapers or turn on the television set, do you believe that those speeches are sincere? I am sure you have long stopped believing it. Otherwise, your isolation from the inner life of the country would have been too amazing. (September 5, 1973).

[Correspondent] Vadim Mikhaylovich, Solzhenitsyn has always been an enigma. Now he has reduced his contacts with the outside world to a minimum and the veil of

secrecy around his name has become even thicker. How do you explain the writer's hermit-like lifestyle?

[Borisov] By the fact that he is consumed by his work, nothing else. He has conceived a massive undertaking. His idea—I mean the creation of the "Red Wheel" series—requires a superhuman effort. (Actually, it would require an entire research institute to do so.) Solzhenitsyn is a man of 71 years and I think he is in a hurry to complete what he has started. As far as I know, he is about to finish the last "knot", as he calls them, "April 1917". NOVYY MIR has accepted this future work for publication and if the situation at the journal gets any better (there is no paper, and your newspaper has written about it), we hope that our readers will one day have a chance to read it.

[Correspondent] Maybe by then Aleksandr Isayevich will already be with us?

[Borisov] God willing.

Critic Scores Latest Edition of Literature Textbook

90UN2031A Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 22,
26 May 90 - 2 Jun 90 pp 6-8

[Article by Nataliya Ilyina: "The Fruits of Enlightenment or the Power of Darkness"]

[Excerpts] "For the development of literature of the postwar years, the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee (1946 and 1948) on questions of literature and the arts were of grave significance. In them the idea of the necessity of the profound and truthful representation of reality was emphasized."

What is this from? From the textbook "Russkaya sovetskaya literatura" [Russian Soviet Literature] for senior pupils. Publishing house "Prosveshcheniye". 1989.

I had not intended to read this textbook. It was slipped to me by acquaintances, whose grandson is studying either in the 10th or the 11th grade. I opened the book out of courtesy, at random to these lines and said:

"Good Lord!"

"But read on," my acquaintances grinned and left, leaving the textbook on my desk. I read on. From the chapter devoted to Sholokhov, I learned that the author of "Podnyataya tselina" [Virgin Soil Uplifted; American title: Seeds of Tomorrow] "does not limit himself to the socio-economic substantiation of the expediency of collectivization," but also shows that "already the first steps of the socialist renewal of life were marked by changes filled with the most profound humanism." Also recommended to today's senior pupils is Panferov's novel "Bruski" [American title: Bruski: Peasant Life in Soviet Russia (1928-37)]. Forty years ago, it figured as required reading for students of the Institute of Literature, and thus I read "Bruski", but since that time had

for some reason not re-read it and had forgotten what it was all about. But I think, about the same thing: About the economic expediency and the profound humanism of collectivization....

I Am Beginning to Learn

Here I discovered that they had left me all of two textbooks: One—a publication of the past year, the other—published in 1985. No, I had not made up my mind, having put off everything else, to study these textbooks. Out of curiosity I simply wanted to leaf through them. On the first page of the 1985 publication I read: "Approved by the RSFSR Ministry of Education as the standard textbook." Then: "Ninth edition, revised". It turns out this standard textbook was published in 1981, 1983—with revisions, in 1985—with changes, But the 1989 textbook is already the 11th edition. Thus, between 1985 and 1989 there was still another reprint? There was. The 1987 edition. Thus, the standard textbook is re-edited every 2 years.

In the preface, addressed to the "dear senior pupils," I read that in the works of our literature "are confirmed the ideals of the Soviet people and are embodied their spiritual life and the high moral qualities. The new Soviet man of socialist society has come to be at the center of attention."

From the 1985 textbook the preface went over into the year 1989. Interesting.

Curiosity led me far! I had merely wanted to leaf through the textbooks, but I started to study them, having started to learn together with the senior pupils. The strongest impression. I recommend to all who are not indifferent to the fate of the pupils to acquaint themselves with these works of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences!

The Birth of a Coherent Ideological System

In the textbooks it is asserted that in Soviet literature a memorable account is given of the "heroic struggle of the peoples of our country for the socialist reconstruction of society."

There is nothing to object here: There was an active fight for the reconstruction of society. Where this reconstruction led us is unimportant. What is important is that people fought for it.

And here is what we found out about the poets who were members of the Proletkult ["Proletarian Culture" organization]:

"For the close link with the life of the country, for the joie de vivre corresponding to the aspirations of the time, the young writers were forgiven descriptiveness, mistakes in language, and style."

But here the cheerful Proletkult members with their mistakes were moved aside. All those who wrote were united in a monolithic organization: The Union of

Writers. In 1934 there was the first congress. The disorder ended, henceforth all will march in step, following the method of socialist realism. This method "requires from the artist the truthful and historically concrete representation of reality in its revolutionary development, moreover the truthfulness and historical concreteness of artistic representation must be combined with the task of the ideological re-education and upbringing of the working people in the spirit of socialism."

Senior pupils! Learn this definition by heart. Forty years ago, we, the students of the Institute of Literature, learned it by heart. For to explain what this method requires in his own words, I recall, no one succeeded in doing, although the authors of the current textbooks assert that "the realism of the new type" developed "into a coherent ideological-artistic system." Attempting to understand this coherent system with all our might, we reasoned 40 years ago as follows. The pre-revolutionary writers were critical realists—they severely criticized bourgeois society, truthfully representing that life and its vices. But the Soviet writer, armed with a progressive doctrine, should represent our life in its revolutionary development, look ahead, listen to the step of history, leading—where? To the bright future! To communism! And, reflecting the life of today, the writer should try to pick up the shoots of the new here and there.

Something along this line, I remember, we muttered in our time in the examinations. Here I already did not think that the senior pupils of today had to....

"The enemies of Soviet literature abroad" tried to compromise this coherent ideological-artistic system, asserting that socialist realism fetters freedom of creativity. "There is nothing more stupid than this slander!" it is angrily stated in the pages of the present-day textbook. And it is added: "It was not accidental that the delegates to the 1st congress of writers talked passionately and with emotion about genuine freedom of creative work in the Country of Soviets."

I assessed for a long time the words "not accidental", placed at the beginning of the sentence. This is one of our favorite polemical methods, which delivers the person who is arguing from the search for evidence. "Not accidental"—that is a hint at the lack of conscientiousness of the opponent, possibly bribed by someone. You say, having screwed up your eyes, "not accidental," and this is sufficient, the opponent is exposed and thrown down. However, in this text the words "not accidental" appear to me to be entirely appropriate. You see, they pertain not to foreigners, but to our own. As a matter of fact: It is no accident that the delegates of the congress, who passed under the paternal surveillance of the party and government, talked with emotion about freedom of creative work for all who are armed with the method of socialist realism. Against this method they could only chatter abroad. But in our country, not accidentally, all were—in favor.

Here L. Sobolev pronounced the words that made him famous: "The party and the government gave to the Soviet writer absolutely everything. They took only one thing away from him—the right to write poorly!"

A thunder of applause. All understood that henceforth one only had to write well! But was L. Sobolev not hasty in his not accidental enthusiasm? Not only the cheerful members of Proletkult were forgiven mistake in language and style for their optimism—many were forgiven for these mistakes even after Sobolev's speech. What is more, they are being forgiven today. To take as an example if only these two textbooks. . . .

A Chest With Kulak Property

Here is the chapter "Great Changes in the Village." "The collectivization of individual peasant farms was a great undertaking unprecedented in history." Very true—an unprecedented undertaking! "The new organization of labor and the new conditions of life changed the way of life and the very psychology of the peasants." And this is correct—they changed it. Then, in the article devoted to Sholokhov, the senior pupils and I are informed that, to the author of "Podnyataya tselina", it was "important to show palpably" the very profound humanism of these changes in the village. The palpable demonstration is the following: "The distribution of kulak property is taking place..." the author directs attention to the wife of Demka Ushakov, "who had fainted over the chest." "...But how would she, poor thing, not faint over the chest...when throughout her whole very bitter life she had not once tasted a good piece and had never worn out a new jacket on her shoulders?"

And here is what is interesting: How did she become the owner of the chest? This worries neither the authors of the textbook nor the "restless heart of the humanist Sholokhov." It is correct that Sholokhov was not worried. In those times, it was not accepted to show palpably what happened with those who were called kulaks and with their families. But recently works have appeared which tell about this. The memoirs of Ivan Tvardovskiy, for example. And the story "Vaska" [Vaska] by Sergey Antonov today is widely known not only to readers, but also to television viewers? It tells about the fate of a young disfranchised woman, the daughter of a kulak. By the way, did the wife of Demkin not faint over her mother's chest?....

The Origin of the New Man

"The humanism of the socialist transformation of life is manifested in the overcoming of patriarchal seclusion and mutual distrust, which in the past determined the relations of the people of the khutor [separated farm]"—I read in the textbook about the same "Podnyataya tselina"....

Thus, the reserve was overcome, all started to trust one another, and as a result what? Here is what: "The

ideological-moral growth, the formation of the new attracted the attention of the writers of various nationalities."

The struggle for the socialist reconstruction of society not only in the village, but also in the entire country formed the new man. This called forth the influx of fresh forces into literature, who wanted to reflect the process of formation. In the textbook I read: "With the arrival of young authors into literature, the number of writers of the new type—persons actively engaged in public life—multiplied...." Among them is named Vs. Vishnevskiy. The cheerful Vishnevskiy (for him even a tragedy is optimistic!) was in fact a writer of the new type—he not only wrote, but also engaged in public activity. There is not a sound in the textbooks about what this activity was, and not for nothing! The senior pupils should know how much effort this social activist expended in order not to admit the works of Bulgakov either on the stage or in the press. You see, this is indicative not only of the public temperament of Vishnevskiy, but also of his prophetic gift. He could not have known then the story "Sobache serdse" [A Heart of a Dog], but the class scent suggested to Vishnevskiy what "new man" Bulgakov will depict, if you give him free reign!

The postwar public activity of the playwright also deserves the attention of the pupils. Already on 10 August, that is 4 days before the decree of the Central Committee on the journals ZVEZDA and LENIN-GRAD, Vishnevskiy writes a letter to the newspaper KULTURA I ZHIZN, in which he accuses Zoshchenko of slandering the life of the Soviet people. Again this is the startling scent? In this case, no. There is information that the social activist Vishnevskiy, who occupied high posts in the Union of Writers, knew beforehand about the decree being prepared. It was precisely he who in the same month of August was entrusted with explaining the decree to meticulous American journalists. He explained. Again he called Zoshchenko "a slanderer and un-Soviet man", and about Akhmatova he said that we have no need for poetesses, "who turn their eyes on tsarist parks, swans, and various archaic rubbish and mysticism."

Whether the words about swans and parks and other such arguments of Vishnevskiy appeared convincing to the foreigners is not important. Another thing is important. They, the Americans, appeared for the discussion in a mood that was hardly friendly. It could not be expected for there to be applause and for all to be "in favor", as this was the case with native audiences. And Vishnevskiy did not flinch, was not frightened, came out and explained everything. Not every writer, even in those times, was capable of doing such a thing!

Well, and then at the beginning of September, at a session of the presidium of the Union of Writers, the same Vishnevskiy gave a speech and raised the question of the continued membership of Akhmatova and Zoshchenko in the Writers' Union. This is the kind of stormy public activity in which Vishnevskiy engaged both in the

prewar and postwar years. It is difficult to understand when he succeeded in creating his optimistic dramatic compositions. But—he succeeded. I believe that it is unjustified to mention in a textbook this name among a number of other “writers of the new type—people who are actively involved in public work”. Vs. Vishnevskiy should have received separate and detailed treatment. For on the basis of this example, one can graphically show what the words “writers of a new type” mean in a number of cases and in what public activity these writers were engaged.

The Joyful Thirties

Thus, the village, having overcome its patriarchal seclusion, firmly followed the path of socialism, the construction of the new society in our country taken separately is successfully moving forward, and we read in the textbook: “The poetry of the 1930’s sang the hymn to the man of the new world. It was precisely in the 1930’s that the joyful and proud words of the song of V. Lebedev-Kumach were born, which expressed the attitude of Soviet people: ‘I do not know another country where man breathes so freely!’”

Dear senior pupils, your grandfathers and great-grandfathers lived very well in the 1930’s. They breathed freely. They sang joyful songs. And the writers reflected this general joy and general pride in their truthful works. Their efforts were not wasted in vain: “...Soviet literature formed and gave life to many unsurpassed images of the real man of our epoch.” What kind of unsurpassed images are they? We will find out at once. Each one of these images possesses such qualities as devotion to the socialist Homeland, loyalty to the ideals of communism, the ability to devote all of oneself to people and to society, and implacability with respect to untruth and evil. One can understand something here: The appearance of the new man in society led to the appearance of a positive hero in the literature created on the basis of the method of socialist realism. That is so. We further read: “The conception of the positive hero in Soviet literature is connected with the idea of a new, socialist man being formed by the conditions of socialist reality and is being reared by the Communist Party.”

It is difficult to set this forth in one’s own words, in the place of the senior pupils, I would again try to memorize. How is this: Being formed by the party, being reared by the conditions.... The other way around! Being formed by the conditions, formed by the party. No! Being reared! But why am I tormenting myself? The “dear senior pupils” have to torment themselves and memorize. This is written for them.

Mayakovsky Rejoices

“In Mayakovsky’s poem ‘Khorosho’ [Good], the most important principle of socialism—the truthful representation of reality in its revolutionary development—is embodied in classical relief and with vital force. Mayakovsky was able to look at the past and the present from

the height of the future....” “I will glorify the Homeland that exists, but three times the one that will be!” “Life is fine and wonderful”....

“These triumphant lines (we read further in the textbook) were written at the time when the country was still only preparing for the implementation of the first five-year plan, when we did not yet have either highly-developed industry or collectivized agriculture....” In other words, they had not yet succeeded in highly developing industry, and they had just begun with the confiscation of chests with kuluk property. Why, one asks, did Mayakovsky rejoice?

In the textbook they explain to us what called forth the rejoicing. “But the sharp gaze of the poet, who had fallen in love with communism and who measured even the events of today’s life by the communist ideals... was able to discover in the reality of the present the traits of the future.”

I would like more precise definitions. I would like to know precisely what future Mayakovsky foresaw. The approaching Thirties, when the country in a single outburst sang songs to the joyful and proud words of Lebedev-Kumach? Or was the sharp glance of the poet able to penetrate still much farther, did he peer into the 1980’s and rejoice, having seen our highly-developed industry and the results of the humane collectivization?

But this question, if it arises among senior pupils, must be answered by the teachers. I do not envy those who have to work on these standard textbooks. A great deal is written there, but it is up to the teachers to explain these writings, having looked into the eyes of the senior pupils. In their place, I would ask a number of explanations and clarifications from those who worked on the textbooks...

Authors! Authors!

The moment has come when it is time to invite the authors to the stage. In agony I would like to ascertain: Who today is capable of writing such things? We find out: “The following took part in the writing of chapters of the textbook: V.V. Buznik, doctor of philology; A.S. Bushmin, academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences; P.S. Vykhodtsev, doctor of philology; L.F. Yershov, doctor of philology; V.A. Kovalev, honored scientist of the RSFSR, doctor of philology....” The others, one and all, are also doctors of the same science, limiting ourselves to their families: K.D. Muratova, N. Groznova, A.I. Pavlovskiy, V.V. Timofeyeva, A.I. Khvatov, and V.A. Shoshin. And G.N. Ionin, candidate of philology, was charged with the composition of the questions and assignments. T.S. Shurygina, a teacher and specialist in teaching methods, was dragged in to help him. This is the 1985 textbook.

And who with the blessing of the high authorities wrote the chapters in last year’s textbook. Of the year 1989? I look—the whole same small group: The academician framed by the doctors of science. And the questions and

assignments were composed by the same candidate Ionin, but this time he worked alone: Shurygina, the specialist in teaching methods disappeared somewhere.

In Need of Explanation

These authors in their standard textbooks mentioned the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee of 1946 and 1948 "on questions of literature art," which were of "grave significance" "for the development of literature of the postwar years." And that is all. And suddenly among the senior pupils there arises the question: What called forth these resolutions?

It should have been answered in the following way: During the postwar years, the writers began to deviate from the truthful representation of reality in its revolutionary development. It was necessary to straighten them out. And in 1946 they straightened them out. Akhmatova and Zoshchenko were subjected to especially serious criticism: Akhmatova escaped into the world of intimate emotions, and Zoshchenko simply slandered in general. For this, they were excluded from the ranks of Soviet writers. In 1948, the Central Committee had to straighten out the composers, having explained to them, and in particular to Shostakovich and Prokofyev, precisely what music the people expects from them. But let us suppose that the doctors of science had the right not to decipher the resolution of 1948: It deals with music, and the doctors are writing about literature. But they should have told about Zoshchenko and Akhmatova, about the beneficial role which the interference of the Central Committee played in their creative work.

I am leafing through the textbooks. I do not find anything appropriate concerning Zoshchenko. But then I found something about Akhmatova. It was stated that she and Pasternak, "in overcoming their *kamernost* [preoccupation with intimate poetry], came closer to social aspirations...." Akhmatova's lines "Tot gorod, mnoy lyubimyy s detstva...." [That city, beloved by me from childhood....] are pointed to as an example of the successful overcoming of preoccupation with intimate poetry.

But you see, these poems were written already in 1929, long before the resolution! Thus, there was a time when Akhmatova succeeded in overcoming her preoccupation with intimate poetry and fuse it with social aspirations. Incidentally, it is interesting to know what these social aspirations were in the year of the "great change" and what relation the mentioned poem by Akhmatova has to it? The authors of the textbook do not trouble themselves with these explanations, leaving it to the teachers to extricate themselves independently. There was a time when Akhmatova overcame her preoccupation with intimate poetry, but then she once again immersed herself in it—otherwise why would there be a need for the resolution of 1946? As is well known, it was of great significance for the development of literature of the postwar years. And, indeed, it was! The truthful representation of

reality demanded by the Central Committee was manifested in the novels of Babaevsky and Kochetov, in the plays of Sofronov, as well as in a number of works of other writers of the postwar years. Well, what about Akhmatova? She, too, did not remain on the sidelines, but she, unfortunately, is mentioned in passing: "In the 1950's the flowering of creative work declines...." Here a number of authors are enumerated, and Akhmatova is among them.

In what did this flowering express itself? This should have been distinctly treated! But the doctors of science again evade explanations, leaving them to the teachers.... And now how are they to extricate themselves? It is well known that after 1946 the name of Akhmatova for 10 years did not appear in the Soviet press. What did she do these 10 years? She considered, evidently, the advice of the Central Committee and, being afraid to once again fall into the preoccupation with intimate poetry, decided not to write verses. But here in 1955 her name flashed in a collection of the poetry of a Chinese poet as one of the translators. And in 1956 she appears already as the only translator of the poetry of Korean poets. This is what signifies the beginning of the flowering of her creative work.

Well, true, 2 years later, Goslit [State Publishing House for Belles-Lettres], having assessed the efforts of Akhmatova in re-educating herself, put out a slim volume containing not only translations but also the poet's original poetry. Even if only two poems dated from the years 1956 and 1957, and all the remaining ones were written much, much earlier—never mind. What is important is that both poems appeared AFTER the resolution, when the poet's creative work should certainly have flourished.

Evidently, this is precisely how the teachers must explain to the pupils the words about the flourishing of Akhmatova's creative work in the 1950's that are casually thrown about in the textbook....

But I believe that they cannot plunge into these explanations today. They know very well that the resolution of 1946 has been rescinded. Thus, without risking anything, it can simply be ignored. But in that case, why does even the last reprint of the "standard textbook" of 1989 talk about its beneficial influence on postwar literature? [passages omitted]

All Nuances of Meaning....

Is it not time to see what kind of sheets were inserted in the 1989 textbook? I saw them long ago, but, carried away by the reading of textbooks, I put them aside, I did not investigate. Let us see.

In a column are written the last names of the writers, and opposite each there is a number. What is the point? I call my acquaintances who slipped these books to me, whose grandson is now a student in the senior class.

It turned out: Having leafed through the textbooks and having been struck by the picture of Russian Soviet literature opening up before them, the grandfather and grandmother decided to do some calculations. Both are pensioners, the time for this painstaking and slow work was found; the grandfather took up the prose writers, and the grandmother—the poets. They wanted to find out which literary figures they recommend today to the pupils to consider as the best, which ones—as average, and to which not to pay any attention at all.

[passage omitted]

Judging by the frequency of mentions in the pages of the 1989 textbook of the name of Gorki (274 times) and Sholokhov (117 times), their prose is the best of what has been created by Russian Soviet literature. Following behind them are: N. Ostrovsky (107 times) and A. Fadeyev (106 times). The grandfather did not stop with this, he continued his calculations, but the figures come in two digits and one digit. I will not cite them, the list is long. I will only note that Bulgakov and Platonov are mentioned in the textbook in passing, each one time, thus their prose did not make a serious contribution to our literature.

The grandmother worked in the kitchen at the dinner table, the grandfather—in the room at the desk. They called on each other, they exchanged agitated remarks. The grandfather:

"If you stumble across Pilnyak, Zamyatin, and Kaverin, let me know at once! I am not finding these names anywhere. The devil take it!"

The grandmother:

"And among mine, imagine, Tsvetaeva is missing. She is not among the Russian poets, and they are all here!"

The two toilers finished their work. The sheets are before me. I looked at them, not believing my eyes. Judge for yourself. In our literature there are such prose writers as Yu. Bondarev (he is mentioned 15 times), M. Shaginian (13), A. Makarenko (9), V. Kozhevnikov (9), but Yu. Kazakov, S. Antonov, V. Grossman, and I. Babel did not exist in our literature. These names—and not only these—are not mentioned in the textbooks. Among the poets, D. Bedny is present (he is mentioned 23 times), but Mandelstam is missing. Lebedev-Kumach (5) is included, but Kluyev is not. And the grandmother failed to turn up Tsvetaeva! Ye. Isayev and S. Vikulov are counted among the modern poets, but Tarkovsky and Samoylov are not. I could continue the list, but to what purpose? Even this is sufficient. "A sensible number conveys all nuances of meaning," Gumilev said, whose name, it goes without saying, we do not find in the textbook. We did not have such a poet.

[passages omitted]

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Problems Seen in Transfer of Polyclinic From 4th Administration

90US1124A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 3 Jul 90 p 6

[Article by I. Tyurina: "Specialized Destruction: What Is Happening at the Polyclinic of the Former 4th Administration"]

[Text] It would be a pity for the fine medical facility to disappear into the gray mass of the regular public health system.

There is no sign on the building. The people who live nearby know, however, that the dignified and completely modern building houses Polyclinic No. 2 of the USSR Ministry of Health's 4th Main Administration.

I shall say right off that there were no false rumors. I do not receive medical care at this polyclinic. I came here for the first time in my life strictly as a journalist, and I was therefore constantly amazed. As an ordinary rayon patient, I had not seen such things even in my dreams. Picture 14 floors of reverential silence, upholstered furniture, rugs, cleanliness. Imagine, no lines at the offices! A smiling nurse calls the patients in to see the doctor, using—Can it be?—their name and patronymic. I have to say that everyone here is extraordinarily polite and attentive. Even in the registry. Even in the cloakroom. And one does not have to wait for one's medical records and hand-carry them. Dumbwaiters deliver them right to the proper floor. But we shall discuss the equipment at the polyclinic later. Right now I want to discuss the little things, only the outward manifestations of privileged treatment. The final shock: The automatic telephones on the floors are hung low so that one can talk while sitting in a soft chair. All of this consideration gives off such a feeling of serenity and such confidence in tomorrow and all the days to come that one wants to stay here and be treated forever.

There is only the appearance of tranquility, though. In the special polyclinic's calm, harmonious collective there is talk of... a strike. Something approaching a real storm is brewing in the quiet of the offices, generated by the latest round in the struggle for social justice.

The foment began at the end of last year, when a war on benefits and privileges was declared from the speaker's platform at the 2nd Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. It was also announced at that time that Polyclinic No. 2 on Zamorenov Street was being turned over to the people, that is, to the Main Health Administration of the Moscow Ispolkom. It was not enough merely to transfer the decent medical establishment, however. Someone got it in his head that it had to be converted to a diagnostic center.

It is difficult to grasp the import of that decision. I shall explain why later, but for now let us describe in detail the polyclinic which fell to us, to the people. It contained the

most modern, mainly imported equipment. Fine operating rooms had been set up in several departments. Minor surgery was performed there, the kind ordinarily performed only at regular hospitals. There was a splendid, separate stomatology department; a laser therapy center; psychotherapists; balneotherapy and pelotherapy facilities; a gymnastics room for physical therapy; a swimming pool; a hospital ambulance station.

The people ordinarily say straightforwardly that such establishments have parquet floors and regulation personnel, that life is good there but there is a problem of competence. Yu. Baziler, deputy chief physician at the polyclinic, told about their system for constantly upgrading the training of doctors and nurses. I will go so far as to say that, like it or not, you will become a specialist here. But these are just words. Here is a fact. N. Predtechenskaya, head of the orthopedic stomatology department, was an intern at a stomatology firm in the GDR. The German specialists gave her performance the highest rating.

In short, an excellent treatment facility was established at the polyclinic, which will now have to be totally wrecked, torn asunder, ruined, for the sake of social justice. Does this mean that no one needs the treatment? And that the people here absolutely must have a diagnostic center?

This will require fundamentally different equipment, and its acquisition will cost approximately 2-3 million rubles in hard currency. Money will be needed for converting the offices. Someone will happily take over the orthopedic stomatology department, which no longer fits in here. The lasers will be scattered, and the operating rooms will be taken apart. What is to be done with the swimming pool? The people will disperse. More than a thousand work here now; only half that number will be needed. Generally speaking, this is the picture. We have a remarkable polyclinic in which many of us could perfectly well be treated today. What the diagnostic center will be, and when—this is still a big question.

The decision has been made, though, and it would seem that nothing can be done. But it is being implemented in a somewhat strange manner. The former 4th Administration of the USSR Ministry of Health, which changed the sign to "Treatment and Health Association of the USSR Council of Ministers," is in no hurry to release the workers from the polyclinic. It is eager to reduce the amount of medicines and supplies it receives, however. One after another, the extremely complex and expensive machines and devices are coming to a stop. There is no film, no paper and no reagents for the laboratories. The polyclinic is falling apart. It will hold together for some time yet, but the treatment and health association did not accept the chief physician's requisition for next year's supplies, because the facility is no longer theirs.

Then whose is it?

V. Shakhmatov, chief of the Center for Restorative and Regenerative Aid of the USSR Ministry of Health,

formerly worked in the ministry's 4th Administration. The polyclinic on Zamorenov is his offspring. An organizer of health care with vast experience, he knows how difficult it is to build a good medical establishment, even when all the conditions exist. Upon learning that it was planned to disband the polyclinic, Vladimir Ivanovich took A. Moskvichev, chief of the city health department, there. He proudly showed Moskvichev around in the hope that the new proprietor would want to take over the facility intact.

"We do not yet know what the city health department has decided," Vladimir Ivanovich said. "In any case the city health department is in no hurry to take over the polyclinic, because the staff has not been discharged. Its operation is not a simple matter. We are spending up to 100,000 rubles a year to maintain it, not including the currency "injections" for equipment. And the USSR Supreme Soviet has promised that the level of financing and supply will remain unchanged."

This state of limbo is terribly unnerving to the collective. It is why there is talk of a strike. Even when the situation becomes clear, what is going to happen? Will we be laid off or not? The main thing, though, is whether everything has to be broken up this way. One can understand the polyclinic workers. Naturally, they are accustomed to working in calm surroundings, under normal conditions and with good equipment. They have actually spoiled themselves with their good service. Let them serve new patients at the same level, since they are prepared to do so. Particularly since, I determined, they cannot do otherwise—perform less well, that is.

Fearing the imminent reduction, one of the nurses took a job at a plant medical department. She did not last long there, however. She came back, despite all the uncertainty of the situation. "They don't consider the patients to be human beings," she said. "They come up with diagnoses without looking at the patient. When I tried to voice my opinion, they put me in my place. It was my job to make appointments, they said."

Moscow's medical workers have heard about the specialists at Polyclinic No. 2. Various hospitals and clinics are actively trying to lure them away. The people are holding out for now, though, and not leaving, hoping for a miracle. It would be a pity if such a collective were to disappear into the gray mass of rayon polyclinics, with their eternally exasperated personnel, patients overwrought from standing in lines and worthless equipment. We have so few good things in our medical system. Why destroy that which we do have?

Several large Moscow enterprises are prepared to buy the "vacated" polyclinic for themselves, lock, stock and barrel, as they say. And wouldn't Krasnodarskiy Rayon, in which the polyclinic is located, be happy to get such a gift? The rayon, incidentally, is in extremely poor condition with respect to the organization of health care. Furthermore, this would greatly defuse the situation surrounding the closed establishment.

The polyclinic had been serving 25,000 people to this point. The collective is prepared to take on 40,000 in order to preserve the facility. The doctors and nurses offer to assume patronage over all the Afghan veterans, and there are around 11,000 in Moscow. They are willing also to treat personnel from the Soviet Information Center, who would pay in currency. But are there not numerous alternatives for restoring social justice without destroying anything in the clinic itself?

"We are not generally opposed to a diagnostic center, you know," chief physician Mikhail Titovich Kosarev said. "If one is indeed needed right here, then all right. They are to begin the construction of a second section of the polyclinic this year. There is a very good possibility of properly equipping the new building right off. Nothing would have to be altered, and we would save a bundle."

The neo-champions of social justice do not appear to be concerned about the fate of Polyclinic No. 2, however. The Council of Ministers hastily announced: "We'll let it go"! And to heck with it. Once in a blue moon, the people end up with "world standards"—and through the efforts of people. Rational arrangements could be made for the polyclinic, without destroying its integrity, which is actually what constitutes that "world level." But the powers that be want to create the appearance of vigorous activity and are actually putting the polyclinic at the mercy of the bureaucrats in the regular health system to be torn to pieces.

No, dear readers, you and I are apparently not to see quality medical care. Someday, perhaps, we will be diagnosed at the new center. But then, where will we be treated?

Officer Urges Psychiatric Treatment for Afghan Veterans

*90US1086A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian
No 23, Jun 90 p 15*

[Article by Lt Col Nikolay Burbyga: "The Afghan Syndrome"]

[Excerpts] **A bitter topic: thousands of survivors of the undeclared war require psychiatric assistance.**

"The unfortunate thing is," says Candidate of Psychological Sciences Magomed Eminov, chief of psychological services of the Afghanistan Veterans' Union and a scientific fellow at the MGU Psychology Department "that people who have been in extreme conditions (and this is not only the 'Afghan vets,' but also those who have lived through, say, an earthquake, and many other things), are subject to severe emotional stress. At the same time they might have a behavioral change, and psychic trauma may arise. Abroad, this phenomenon has come to be known as post-traumatic stress. The people around former 'Afghans vets' are also subject to it. Not long ago a soldier's mother came to us, Muscovite Svetlana Vasilyevna (for understandable reasons I will not use her surname). Her son returned from the war

alive and unharmed. One should rejoice... But time passed, and her son complained that at night he was plagued by nightmares; that he would kill someone, and then be killed. He had a predilection for alcohol, and he began to drink. He also threw knives. The situation at home became unbearable. Unable to stand such an atmosphere, his sister—a 20-year-old girl—threw herself out the window. His parents were on the verge of suicide also. We have begun initial psychotherapy with them, but it is still too early to speak of results. Unfortunately, until recently the question of rendering medical aid to 'Afghans vets' and their close relatives had not been resolved in the country. And traditional methods of medicine are altogether unsuitable for their treatment, for the socio-psychological restoration of an individual."

Thus, many "Afghans vets" remain on the fringes of life. But who will take up concern for them? Who will relieve them of their nightmares? In Moscow alone there are 8,000 veterans; and if you count their parents, wives and children, it turns out that 30-40,000 people require psychological help to one degree or another. Incidentally, we are not alone in our distaste for such services. American psychologists, before achieving the system of psychotherapy that exists today, for 15 years insisted that an ordinary psychiatrist is not capable of "placing on their feet" people who have gone through a war. And so we are repeating the mistakes of others. People often say: Well, the wars are different. They are different, no argument; but people's reactions to what they go through are largely the same.

We must not scorn world experience in establishing special treatment facilities, which differ from traditional institutions in that comprehensive treatment is conducted in them, where various forms of psychological rehabilitation play the central role. In this connection the Afghanistan Veterans' Union has also appealed to USSR Minzdrav [Ministry of Health] and to the Moscow City Executive Committee with a proposal to set up psychological services in the newly-established hospital for war veterans (Finally, after almost 45 years!). The union is assuming responsibility for the methods and the retraining of specialists. A wealth of experience has already been accumulated in the laboratory. The reply came without delay: We will examine the suggestion and, probably, will assign one psychiatrist...

"But what can one psychiatrist do?" Eminov wails. "You see, we proposed something altogether different. And time is going by. There is no competent psychological rehabilitation—and those who need it are being drawn to alcohol, toxic substance abuse, narcotics addiction, and even suicide."

And yet another problem about which one cannot remain silent. I can remember well the time when, without mincing words, they lifted internationalist-warriors up on the shield of glory. Today times are different, and one might hear other words. And so there's been a 180-degree turn—are the "Afghan vets" done for?

Of course, one has to look into such events—where we were right, and where we were not. But extremism is not the best position. It's a complete denial of the courage and selflessness of our boys, that all that they did there was, in my view, immoral. To what does this lead? I'll cite only one example—from a letter by an international-warrior from Tomsk, Yevgeniy Prozorin, a group III invalid. "Whatever it is they call us," he writes; "whether rapists or murderers... My heart is troubled to hear such things. I'm offended, but must not answer..."

I think it would not hurt all those who take it upon themselves to write on the "Afghan" theme, to give some thought to the effects our words have. Not one single healing institution, not one single psychotherapist is capable of helping the "Afghan vets," even if he were Solomon, if society does not become seriously concerned with this.

We have withdrawn our troops from Afghanistan. But how can we withdraw the souls of these who went through it from a state of war?

USSR Narcotics Problems Growing, Foreign Experience Sought

*90US1128B Moscow SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH
in Russian 5 Jun 90 p 2*

[Article by N. Demidov: "On the Path of White Death"]

[Text] The smuggling of drugs in the USSR for a long time was not a substantial problem for the Soviet law enforcement bodies as not more than 1 percent out of the total world drug trade went to our country. At present, due to the ease in traveling, overseas contacts of the citizens, the increased number of tourists and the establishing of free economic zones, facts of the smuggling of white death have no longer been isolated. This is particularly widespread on the frontier with Afghanistan and in the regions of the Far East, and there have been more frequent instances of the importing of drug-containing medicines into the USSR across the Western frontiers.

Generally speaking, the drug addiction situation in the USSR now causes concern. At a briefing at the USSR MVD on 29 May it was announced that there were over 130,000 users of drugs and ½ of them was "chronic" as registered with the internal affairs and public health bodies. Around 25,000 are poisoning themselves with strong-acting medicines and opiates, and ⅓ has been diagnosed as substance abusers. These figures, alas, are growing. During the first quarter of the current year, around 13,000 drug users were registered and ½ was diagnosed for the first time. The law enforcement bodies are waging a constant struggle against the drug dealers. Over the 3 months of this year, over 120 such criminal groups have been unmasked.

But it is completely apparent that this evil can be successfully resisted only by the joining of many efforts. Since February 1988 until the present, intergovernmental agreements have been concluded with the United

States, Great Britain, West Germany, France, Canada and Italy. These provide for the exchange of information on the state of combating drug dealing in each country, on the methods of manufacturing and distributing drugs, as well as persons suspected of illegal drug operations, methods of detecting manufacturers and dealers as well as the exchange of real examples of drugs and the methods of their investigation. There are plans to establish similar ties with Afghanistan, China, North Korea, Vietnam and India. The USSR MVD is also establishing interagency contacts with its colleagues.

Foreign experience in combating drug dealing is at present being employed in our nation. For example, last year in the Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan, interregional departments of the Main Directorate of Criminal Investigation of the USSR MVD were established. This was done on the basis of studying the activities of the Drug Enforcement Administration of the U.S. Department of Justice. And as the results show, the innovation has proven fully effective.

Specialists estimate that the joining of the International Organization of Criminal Police, Interpol, by the USSR will substantially aid our law enforcement bodies in finding and neutralizing the paths for the spread of white death.

50,000 Drug Addicts Claimed in RSFSR

*90US1128C Moscow UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 27, Jul 90 p 2*

[Unattributed article "Recent News From the RSFSR MVD"]

[Text] Over 50,000 persons who use drugs and one-half of them are addicts—this is the situation existing at the given moment in Russia. This has caused the RSFSR MVD to be the initiator in establishing the Russian Fund for Combating Drug Addiction and the constituent assembly of this has been held in Moscow.

"These figures," as the Deputy Chief of the Main Directorate of Criminal Investigation of the RSFSR MVD, V. Kapustin, told the TASS correspondent, "do not reflect fully the real state of affairs. With the great concealment of drug addiction, the indicators are several-fold more. However, the republic does not have a program for combating this evil."

The drug treatment service in the republic has become run-down, drug treatment specialists are lacking everywhere and in many rayon centers there are not even drug treatment points. The effectiveness of treatment virtually equals zero. Not in the account are the addicts who have been treated 5, 10 or 15 times in the public health facilities but all the same continue to use drugs.

The existing situation is largely determined by the shortage of funds. But it is impossible to wait until the state treasury becomes more generous. In the words of the RSFSR Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, V.

Pankin, in the near future our society can encounter a problem of the unprecedented scope of drug addiction and drug dealing. The established fund should help prevent this.

Belorussian Public Health System Crisis Examined, Reforms Urged

*90US1128A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 17 Jun 90 pp 1, 3*

[Article by V. Kazakov, Belorussian Minister of Health: "To See the Long Run"]

[Text] What would we like to say to our colleagues in celebrating this professional holiday? Like you, I am experiencing contradictory feelings as on the one hand there is the recognition of the enervating labor and a view of certain successes in our undertaking and on the other there is a feeling of dissatisfaction and a comprehension of the validity of the sharp criticism addressed to us and coming from all sides.

Without burdening the readers with statistics, let me mention just a few objective data. Infant mortality in the republic in 1989 was 11.5 per 1,000 births and this was half the amount of the average Union figure and approaches the level of the average European factor. There has been a significant decline in the infectious disease rate, there is a tendency for a drop in the overall mortality rate and the indicators for the activities of the surgical service are better than the average Union ones.

But the negative phenomena and negative trends inherent to national public health are also characteristic of us and republic health is experiencing a crisis situation and does not provide the proper level of medical aid to the public. The supply of medical facilities with medical articles, equipment and medicines has lagged behind the indicators achieved by the developed capitalist nations and the Eastern European countries. In the republic there is a growing number of chronically ill, the state of health of children and juveniles causes serious concern, the rate of vocational illnesses is not declining and injuries remain high.

Among the factors which tell negatively on the health of the public, particular attention must be made of the unfavorable ecological situation in the republic. Tens of thousands of people in the cities live within the sanitary-protective zones of the industrial enterprises, and they are exposed to the increased effect of noise, vibration, atmospheric pollution and, naturally, more frequently fall ill.

The ecological situation in Novopolotsk has caused increase allergic illnesses and diseases of the endocrinal system and respiratory organs. In Mogilev, where a high level of multicomponent pollution of the air basic with toxic substances has been recorded, an increase in the overall sickness rate of the public—adult and children—has been verifiably established.

There is a bad ecological situation in Gomel, Grodno, Krichev, Svetlogorsk, Mozyr and other places. And the quality of the water supplied to the public, the state of the dairies and public dining! These are the cause of gastrointestinal illnesses and viral hepatitis.

Imbalanced, poor quality and at times insufficient food, the lack of prestige for a healthy way of life, the irrational system of state social insurance and unsatisfactory living and working conditions—here is still another group of factors which cause a poor health level in the public.

Another lies in the imperfection of the existing public health system. At one time, progressive for certain stages of the Soviet state, the health system is obsolete and does not meet today's needs of the people. As before the residual principle of financing the sector has been kept. The share of gross national income allocated for public health remains a little more than 3.8 percent. As is known, in other nations, this indicator equals 8-10 percent of the gross national income.

The domestic medical industry is on a primitive level and many types of equipment produced abroad are not produced by our industry at all while what is available does not stand up at all in relation to the foreign analogs. The technical equipping of our position has been estimated at 10-15-fold below the foreign. We do not have enough disposable syringes, blood transfusion systems, there are no analyzers for biological fluids, the sector is virtually uncomputerized and there is very little respiratory and anesthesia equipment. The problem of providing the public with vitally necessary medicines is maximally acute. The physical plant of the public health institutions is poor.

Against the background of all of this there is the threat of the spread of AIDS which causes particular concern. The accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Plant has made very major adjustments and has maximally increased the load factor on the public health institutions particularly in Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts. Under the conditions of an acute shortage of personnel, equipment and medicines, it has been necessary to make additional efforts to organize outpatient services for the public in the devastated areas. Not everything was done here, the studies are being carried out with a delay. There have not been comprehensive examinations of persons residing on territories with a contamination from 1 to 15 curies per km². And naturally, the reasonable question arises: Where are the government and the republic Ministry of Health looking?

Under the crisis conditions in the nation, the republic government and the Belorussian Ministry of Health have succeeded in initiating a series of energetic steps. For the first time in the nation, on a state level, the republic Health Program has been adopted. Here it is wise to emphasize that the protecting of public health is a statewide task and not only that of the medical departments. Enormous work must be done to implement the program. The time for increasing the wages of medical

workers has been moved 18 months closer. A whole series of other programs has been worked out including ambulance aid, nonmedicine methods of treatment and prevention, stomatology and others and the implementing of these to a certain degree will give a dynamic state to protecting the health of the people.

According to the results of the All-Union Inspection, the following collectives have been recognized as the best in the nation in 1989: the Mogilev Oblast Hospital, the Molodechno Maternity Home, the Republic Hospital for the Disabled of the Great Patriotic War in Borovlyany, the Shchuchin Central Hospital, the Medical-Sanitary Unit of the Gomselmash [Gomel Agricultural Machinery] Production Association, the Gomel Oblast Oncological Dispensary, the City Polyclinic No 30 and the Sixth Clinical Hospital in Minsk, the Oblast Blood Transfusion Station in Slonim, the Volkovysskiy Rayon Sanitary-Epidemiological Station, the Belorussian Scientific Research Institute for Neurology, Neurosurgery and Physiotherapy and the Second Medical School in Minsk. Brest has been recognized as the winner among the oblasts. Behind these successes lies the labor of thousands of totally dedicated medical workers. But in order to emerge from the crisis situation, fundamental reforms are needed, governmental and social, which would fundamentally alter the public health system.

First of all, by the year 1995, it is essential to increase the state expenditures on public health by at least 2-2.5-fold.

The republic over the next few years should switch to insurance-covered medicine. This will make it possible to interest both the citizens themselves and the economic leaders in maintaining health. The basic principle is that it should be advantageous for each person to be healthy.

We must establish a medical and pharmaceutical industry. Individual steps are already being taken in this area. Within the Kompleks NPO [Scientific-Production Association], a subdivision has appeared for developing medical equipment and there are plans to create capacity. At nonspecialized enterprises in Minsk, Vitebsk, Molodechno, Gomel, Vileyka and elsewhere, last year medical articles were produced valued at 2.5 million rubles and during the current production is to be increased to 6 million rubles. Together with the Belorussian Gosplan and the leaders of a number of industrial enterprises, additional measures are being worked out to increase the facilities for producing medical equipment and improving its quality. A scientific-technical subdivision is planned within the system of the Belorussian Ministry of Health, and an association of medical equipment producers is to be established.

But this will not fully solve the problem and foreign exchange is essential for purchasing equipment not produced in the nation. For this purpose, we plan to establish a special foreign exchange account of the republic Ministry of Health and this would receive

foreign exchange deductions from all the industrial enterprises, the Council of Ministers and the oblistpolkoms.

In the same manner, we must solve the problem of producing medicines on the basis of the existing enterprises of the biomedical industry, we must reconstruct and expand them as well as build new enterprises.

A radical restructuring is required in the activities of the sanitary-epidemiological service on the basis of working out a new sanitary code and new economic mechanisms for the protection of the environment.

We will fundamentally restructure the work of the scientific research institutions being oriented more and more at carrying out the social requirement of practical public health but certainly not to the detriment of fundamental research. We must alter the work of the higher and secondary school in training medical personnel. The question of the social amenities available to the medical workers and the establishing of an association of them has become imperative.

These and other tasks are not easy to solve, they will require changes in the republic health legislation and we intend on this basis to complete the elaboration and introduction of a modern system for managing the sector based upon end results and the employment of the most effective medical technologies.

Ukrainian Health Minister on Health Issues in Republic

90US1106A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
10 Jun 90 p 2

[Interview with Ukrainian Minister of Health Yu.P. Spizhenko, by N. Svichkolap: "To Live Without Ailing"]

[Text] "Not just atonement is expected from our ministry. It is essential to bring good health to all needing this. But enthusiasm alone is not enough," feels the Ukrainian Minister of Health Yu.P. Spizhenko.

[Spizhenko] Having lost some enthusiasm for free public health, we now along with the entire world have begun to reflect as to just what the high percentage of per capita medical workers provides us. For the given indicator, we have double the physicians than in the developed nations of the West. But here how can we explain that, for example, our nation performs a score-fold fewer heart operations while infant mortality under the age of a year is 3-fold higher? And our "successes" in terms of the number of abortions are completely disheartening as here we have outstripped everyone by a score-fold.

[Svichkolap] Yuriy Prokofyevich [Spizhenko], of course comparisons are largely not in our favor and if this list is continued, then a very unseemly picture arises. In a word, our medicine must be cured. But a precise diagnosis is essential. What, in your opinion, is the root of the evil?

[Spizhenko] In half knowledge and half financing. The half knowledge costs us more than ignorance and half financing in time is going to present harsh bills.

The republic allocates 4.2 billion rubles a year for public health. For comparison, this equals the cost of a single aircraft carrier plus one year of operation. For one patient in a hospital if he is in a therapeutic hospital receives an average for medicines (this is laughable if not rather sad to say) about a ruble and a half. What can be purchased with this, if one can put it that way, money, when a vial of antibiotics costs from 2 to 4 rubles, a pipette costs 90 kopecks and so forth? What question can there be of any aid to a person when there is such an enormous difference between what is required for recovery and what is available?

I am confident that to treat twice as good we must double allocations for public health.

[Svichkolap] I agree with you. But unfortunately, at present, wherever you look, finances and truly resuscitation measures are needed....

[Spizhenko] It is a question of health. Believe me, it is a sin to speak about savings here. Over the last 5 or 6 years in the republic, the morbidity rate with malignant tumors has risen by 16 percent, stomach ulcers by 32 percent while the natural increase in our population has been 3-fold less than for the nation as a whole....

A physician finds it flattering, of course, to hear that he is an experienced doctor. Experience is highly valued in medicine but it also needs new equipment and new technologies. Here lies progress in medicine. We now have 30 percent of the medical equipment we need. I will not try to separate out of this quantity the most modern instruments but I can assure you that the figure would be insignificant.

[Svichkolap] Yuriy Prokofyevich, it was no accident that a third of your report at the last collegium of the Ministry of Health was devoted precisely to the technical equipping and the supply of medical preparations.

[Spizhenko] Of course.

[Svichkolap] Then, if possible, could you describe in greater detail what is being done here.

[Spizhenko] We cannot hope that someone in some manner will improve the situation. There is nothing to be ashamed of in buying the most modern diagnostic equipment, medical supplies and medicines. No matter how we respect the dominance of chemistry, a number of patients live on injections alone and the ordinary Valocordin is essential. The question of where to get the foreign exchange remains open. For this reason, we have decided to give some thought on how to supply the republic itself, relying on conversion and the setting up of joint enterprises. For example, we have already established an association which has organized the industrial output of orthopedic sets of 600 component parts and we virtually can supply them to everyone in the republic

needing them. During the current year, the association plans to produce instruments for gynecological and surgical operations.

Out of 100 persons, 80 will need false teeth. Literally as a way out of the "false tooth shortage" under the OKB [Experimental Design Bureau] imeni O.K. Antonov they have established a republic cost accounting center for manufacturing whole-cast false teeth. By the year's end, specialized dental prosthesis laboratories will be opened up in Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk and Lugansk.

At present, we have organized the production of vascular needles, curing chambers and suturing material for microsurgical operations. We are talking with Libya to build a plant which will produce disposable syringes. Agreements have been signed with a number of countries for producing ultrasound and computer equipment. The Kiev Relay and Automation Plant together with the West German Siemens Firm this year will produce 20 sets of computer-generated tomographs (two of which will be sent to Odessa and Kherson and the rest throughout the nation). Incidentally, the cost of them is one-half the amount of the cost of imported equipment. In order to fully meet the needs of the Ukraine, we must have over 100 such tomographs. The money must be found for these purposes. And certainly without electronic computers there can be no question of outpatient facilities.

The situation on this score is critical as one out of every four persons in the republic dies from...turning to the physician too late. Virtually one-half of the patients with a stomach ulcer, diabetes, gallstones was not detected on time; patients arrive at the oncological center not in stage I or II but in stage III and so forth.

To cure a disease is the same as mending a tear. It is an old truth that it is easier to prevent an illness than to cure it.

[Svichkolap] So the future belongs to prophylaxis?

[Spizhenko] Undoubtedly. Just one example to confirm this. Every year 10,000 persons suffer from a heart attack. And certainly one-half of them might not have fallen ill if with an early diagnosis this problem could have been anticipated by surgery. Such operations are successfully performed at the Dnepropetrovsk Vascular surgery Center. In the future, the number of such medical facilities will be expanded.

[Svichkolap] A large portion of the letters received by the editors in one way or another is related to the problem of trusting medicine....

[Spizhenko] The number of these increased sharply after the Chernobyl accident....

[Svichkolap] Yes, the product of secret "deep thinking" expressed in the orders of the Third Main Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Health to classify information on the degree of radioactive contamination has now boomeranged against the physicians.

[Spizhenko] How, just tell me, can I protect health if at present I, as the minister of health, do not have information on the radiation situation on the territory of the nuclear plant? As paradoxical as this may seem, in the period of glasnost as before we still lack the truth. Chernobyl was not merely a tragedy of the recent past, but it is an eternal and not completely understood diagnosis. And I can say categorically just the following: no person should receive a single excess rem. For the victims of the disaster the situation is exacerbated by the presence of enormous psychological damage. Here also is the disrupting of the traditional way of life of the family, the pain of the migration processes and the moral traumas related to the impossibility of having children.

If one thinks about it, health is not merely the absence of illness but is a state of complete physical, psychological and social well-being.

Commentary on High Infant Mortality in Turkmen SSR

90US1043A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 13 Jun 90 p 2

[Letters to the Editor: "Here it is Easy for a Child's Life to be Cut Short"; For 25 April KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA article, see JPRS-UPA-90-041, published 19 July 1990]

[Text] On 25 April 1990 materials by P. Voshchanov and A. Bushev on infant mortality in Turkmeniya were published under the above headline. In response, the editors have received letters from people in the republic. Some of them demand the authors be charged with slander and insulting the national sensitivities of the Turkmen people; others thanked them for telling the truth; still others offered help. At the recent Komsomol Central Committee Plenum, republic Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary G. Geldyyeva spoke out with conviction: "We demand the "Komsomolka" correspondent post in Turkmeniya be closed down. We call upon all the young people in the republic to cancel their subscription to the newspaper!" The other day the editors received a notice from the Turkmen Komsomol Central Committee, that our own correspondent was refused permission to use an official automobile. True, the denial purportedly stemmed from a different reason: four new Komsomol raykoms have been formed in the republic, and therefore there are not enough vehicles for them all...

Recently a large commission from Moscow arrived in Ashgabat. The commission included the leaders of the V.I. Lenin Children's Fund and the USSR Health Ministry, and people's deputies. At the joint discussion of the infant mortality problem with leading republic health-care officials, practically all the points presented in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA were confirmed, although they did not refer to the article itself. It was decided to transfer one million transfer rubles [invalyutnyy rubl] for health-care needs in Turkmenistan.

"We are deeply insulted by the reference to our families by correspondents Voshchanov and Bushev. We are not starving to death: we have everything we need for life. You have written untruths. The Turkmen nation is a nation raised in the spirit of helping one another. Therefore, we believe you must apologize to our people."

—the CHARYYEV and YEDIYEV families.

"The board of the Turkmen SSR Journalists' Union registers a categorical protest with respect to a number of facts contained in the article, "Zdes legko obryvaetsya detskaya zhizn..." ["Here it is Easy for a Child's Life to be Cut Short"]. The article is provocative and slanderous, offends national sensitivities, and serves to incite hatred among the nations. The article contains abundant evidence of ignorance of local customs, falsification of facts, and crude fabrications with respect to the reasons for infant mortality. We insist you publish our expression of protest."

—M. ORUSOV, Chairman of the Board, TSSR Journalists' Union

"We have read the article, "Zdes legko obryvaetsya detskaya zhizn...". We would like to say thank you to the authors, Pavel Voshchanov and Aleksandr Bushev, for their good deed. We, as eye-witnesses of similar facts, see in this article the genuine truth."

—Staff Members of Rayon Newspaper TYAZE YEL; the Rayon Komsomol Committee; Secondary School No 8., Parakhatskiy Rayon, Mary Oblast.

"In the past our people used to raise wheat, greens and vegetables on their own subsidiary farms. They used to keep cattle. Around our village there used to be common gardens, with grapes, apples and pears. Where is all this now? They have disappeared; they are no more. Everywhere you look there is cotton.

"I can remember how some kind of bosses came down from the rayon finance department, and they took away the subsidiary farms from everyone in our village, up to 16 hundredths [sotka]; they took the cattle too. In response to the question, 'But how will we feed our family,' they replied that now all this would be the concern of the state: 'You will buy both meat and milk at the store. You must fulfill the plan; then you will have everything you need.'"

"But now children are dying from malnutrition. I am a worker; I work in Dnepropetrovsk; but I am ashamed..."

—BAZAROV, Zyyabay

"In the countryside people rise at 5:00 AM and work all day until 10:00 PM. Both pregnant women and small children are forced to work. The pregnant women have no time for a normal meal for themselves, so just where can they feed their own little children? And our leaders are saying that everything is fine with us..."

—Khemra KHODZHAMURADOV, Sakarskiy Rayon, Chardzhou Oblast.

"In our opinion, you have honestly reported on the heavy burden, and the sufferings and trials which have befallen our people.

"Those who are now speaking out critically in the pages of the newspaper SOVET TURKMENISTANY either do not understand the problems of our republic, or they do not want to understand them at all.

—O. MAMMEDZHUMAYEV, S. KHALLYYEV, Z. ASTAPOVA and others: Students at Secondary School No 7, Sakarskiy Rayon.

COMMENTARY BY A SPECIALIST

"This year a series of articles devoted to the reasons for the high infant mortality rate in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan were published in the central press.

"In the Kirghiz SSR, for example, women and children are exploited to work in the tobacco industry, and no one takes responsibility for it. In Karakalpakia, nature is perishing and along with it the people, primarily women and children. The unwise use of toxic chemicals in agriculture is affecting their health primarily. The unsanitary conditions at the general pediatric clinics in Kzyl Orda Oblast are just awful. In Tajik SSR 70 percent of the women suffer from anemia, and they all give birth to emaciated children. In the Uzbek SSR the infant mortality rate climbed in 1989.

"The infant mortality rate is determined by the social environment, and only then by culture, education, traditions and even the quality of pediatric medicine. In Turkmen SSR 45 percent of the worker families and 50 percent of the kolkhoz members live on the edge of poverty. In Ashkhabad alone 25,000 people aged 16-26 are unemployed. According to certain data, in young families of the capital of Turkmenia, where material and housing conditions are poor, the number of instances of death at an early age is six times greater than in well-off families.

"During the years of Soviet rule, infant mortality in the republic declined by more than a factor of seven. However, since the 1960's, these indicators are characterized by significant fluctuations—and not for the better.

"In recent years a number of efforts have been taken in Turkmenia to reduce infant mortality. Reanimation and intensive therapy departments have been organized in hospitals. Medical stations have been opened in order to render medical aid to sick children whose parents have refused hospitalization. However, all these measures are directed toward treatment of children who are already ill, and are not capable of preventing illness.

"And now with respect to the publication in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

"In Turkmenia, of the total number of children who die before they are a year old, 70-80 percent are older than one month. All such children show some signs of qualitative or quantitative malnourishment. Among rural children, anemia is noted in 67 percent at an early age. Almost all children receiving in-patient care in rural medical institutions show signs of malnutrition. These children are very weak; they become infected easily, and any infection is hard on them. Nor are their mothers in the best of health. More than 70 percent suffer from anemia and hypovitaminosis, are emaciated and weak, and are in no condition to provide breast milk and proper care to their children.

"We have performed an analysis of the weight indicators of 197 rural children aged 3-12 months on in-patient status in one of the republic's regional hospitals. Only 16 percent of the children in their first year of life were at the proper weight for their age. All the rest lagged behind by 1-4 months or more. The number of underweight children increased with age. Of 43 children studied aged 10-12 months only four were of normal weight. More than half of them were more than four months behind in weight for their age. If to all of this one adds the presence of anemia, rachitis [rickets] and other signs of hypovitaminosis, it is not hard to confirm the fact that all the children from the country who come to the hospital on in-patient status show signs of starvation. These are weakened children, whose system is incapable of fighting infection. Naturally, many are unable to simultaneously bear both malnutrition and infection. If it were not for the severe consequences of child starvation, there would not be such a high disease rate and high infant mortality. Rational, full-value nourishment is the basis for all preventive measures for reducing the infant disease and infant rate. Under today's conditions only fundamental social and economic transformation is capable of changing the situation.

"With insufficient input of whole proteins and ascorbic acid into their systems, children and adults become especially sensitive to the negative effects of toxic chemicals. One can imagine the state of our children and mothers in the rural area, where 100 times more chemicals are applied to the land per hectare than in Japan, and 20-30 times more in comparison with average nationwide numbers. The amount of pesticides in the milk of Turkmen mothers is greater than that contained in the milk of Vietnamese women during the war when the jungles were being poisoned with defoliants. In connection with the worsening ecological situation in Tashauz Oblast, 75 percent of the adult population is sick; among the children 90-92 percent and in places 100 percent are ill. And who is to blame for all this? Thus far there are no guilty parties...

"Cotton, cotton, cotton! And where are the vegetables and fruits? At least for the children, the mothers and future mothers, who raise and harvest the cotton under the scorching sun, in 50-degree heat, breathing poisoned air? With what should they replace the carbohydrates, vitamins and trace elements, the inorganic minerals and

the energy they are constantly losing in the cotton fields?! It is not even possible to dream about sufficient whole proteins. "The health of the people is the wealth of the nation." A ringing, but thus far a completely unfounded slogan.

"A nation is becoming worn out on the cotton monoculture. Cotton does not demand the intellectual development of a people. Therefore things have come to such a pass, that among tenth-graders, there are quite a number of students who cannot write their name. What kind of parents or specialists will they be in the future? Bitter questions which, alas, remain unanswered."

—Eziz DERLYAYEV, pediatrician, professor.

FROM THE EDITORS: Many problems—economic, ecological, social, cultural—as we see, remain very severe in the Central Asian region, and especially in the Aral Sea zone. Our April article and today's selection of responses are merely distant approaches to the solution of these problems. The efforts of many people are needed. The editors will not drop the topic. We ask that letters and reactions be sent to the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Correspondent Post in Ashkhabad, in care of Aleksandr Bushev, 744020, Ashkhabad-20, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA; telephone 24-15-33.

Bureaucrat Hampers Conversion of Plant to Disposable Syringe Production

90US1126A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jul 90
Morning Edition p 1

[Article by V. Romanyuk: "What the Syringe Ran up Against: How an Ordinary Bureaucrat Rescinded a Decision of the President of the USSR"]

[Text] This time I want to discuss a most urgent social problem, that of setting up the production of disposable medical syringes and the needles for them. Plans have been made to set up their production at the Krasnoyarsk Nonferrous Metals Plant, one of the enterprises in the Norilskiy Nikel concern. Talks are underway with the large Yugoslav firm, General Export, and a number of other foreign firms on the construction of a building complete and ready for occupancy. In addition to 100 million disposable syringes and 1 billion needles, it is also planned to produce 20 million rubles worth of household chemical products a year, plus 200 million rubles worth of jewelry. A part of the output will be for export. The complex is to operate on a nonsubsidized basis, without any funds from central sources, exclusively from the sale of output over and above the state order.

Back in October of last year the party kraykom, the kray ispolkom and the board of directors and STK [technical supervisory service] of the nonferrous metals plant sent the technical and economic feasibility study to USSR Gosplan and requested that a draft order be prepared for

the USSR Council of Ministers. According to preliminary estimates the complex will cost 60 million rubles in convertible currency, which the enterprise collective itself will earn.

Despite the perfectly obvious benefit of the plan, the proposals and the concern's plans became hung up in Moscow's departments. In March of this year, after exhausting all the alternatives, the Krasnoyarsk people took an extreme step, going all the way to President of the USSR M.S. Gorbachev. After that the wheels of coordination and agreement seemed to begin turning more rapidly. On 1 June 1990 it was reported to the President of the USSR that the proposals from the Krasnoyarsk Nonferrous Metals Plant had been reviewed and that the government's draft order had been submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers.

"Submitted" does not mean "reviewed," however. But let us now turn to the documents. The last telegram, addressed to L. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, M. Shkabardnya, administrator of affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers, and N. Petrakov, assistant to the President of the USSR on economic matters, came like a bombshell.

"By way of executing the personal instructions of the President of the USSR of 6 April 1990," it stated, "USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations prepared a draft order on the construction by foreign firms of a complex for the production of consumer goods at Krasnoyarsk and sent it to the USSR Council of Ministers on 7 May 1990. The coordinated draft order ended up with Comrade Yarich, an administrator in the Administration of Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers, however, who kept the material almost a month without taking any action and returned it to USSR Gosplan completely without justification. The collective of the Krastsvetmet [Krasnoyarsk Nonferrous Metals Plant] regards Comrade Yarich's actions as a lack of respect for personal instructions from the President of the USSR and as a bureaucratic blockade, which is cause for accusing workers in the apparatus of bureaucratism."

Just who is Yarich? It turns out that he is senior consultant in the metallurgy section of the Administration of Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers. He opposed the construction of the Norilskiy Nikel concern. And this is a person whom Ye. Lobachev, deputy chairman of the kray ispolkom, and V. Medvedev, chairman of the STK at the nonferrous metals plant's, cannot control.

"The comrades are stretching things," Vladimir Sergeyevich Yarich asserted, when I phoned him and asked for his comments on the telegram.

His subsequent explanations did nothing to help answer the question of why the draft was not being reviewed, however. He spoke of difficulties arising, he said, with the production of the extremely scarce components at Krastsvetmet for setting up the production of disposable

syringes at that very plant (it is clear even from official letters that the problem has been eliminated). He mentioned the possibility of an increase in the cost of the complex to 150 million rubles (even though, in any case, the plant is not asking the state for a single kopeck) and assured me that the entire matter would now be reviewed at the proper level. A. Ivanov, chief of that very subsection of USSR Gosplan to which the document was returned, does not conceal his irritation at the red tape, which is a fact. If V. Yarich decided to clear the matter up and invited in some specialists, the issue could be resolved in a few hours. Six months has already been lost—and now several more weeks.

The departments are still squabbling, the matter is getting nowhere, and the foreign partners are losing patience. In short, we are getting neither disposable syringes nor household chemical products. One is truly amazed at how the good intentions of thousands of people could be shattered at the office of a single, solitary bureaucrat—one not even vested with any special authority. Who would have thought it possible that his will would be more powerful than that of the President of the USSR. And the more extensive and complex the administrative apparatus, the more such unknown dangers it conceals—for a vitally important cause, for people who demonstrate initiative.

Faction Within Russian Orthodox Church Examined

90UN2064A Moscow UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 23, Jun 90 p 5

[Article by V.A. Alekseyev, candidate of historical sciences: "Is There a New 'Schism' in the Russian Church?"]

[Text] A letter arrived at our editorial offices from the reader K. Chernov of Ryazan. It contained the following statements and questions: "I have learned from the newspapers that a Russian Church Council was recently held in Moscow. There a decision was adopted concerning the founding (and, it must be assumed, the separating out) of the Ukrainian and Belorussian Orthodox Churches. Never before have Moscow, Kiev, or other such spiritual centers of Orthodoxy (including, it seems to me, Minsk as well) subordinated themselves or bowed to the will of various ecclesiastical authorities. Furthermore, it seems to me that the Church Council held in Lvov during 1946 had already decreed the return of the Christian parishes located in the Western oblasts of the Ukraine and Belorussia to the bosom of the Russian Orthodox Church. But just what is happening now? Is there a new schism in the Church? Does it mean that the Church cannot overcome the separatist tendencies...?"

And here's another question which we were asked over the telephone by the Muscovite F. Kadminov: "I've heard that certain clergymen are calling for the condemnation of acts committed by the Russian Orthodox Church's leading officials, beginning with Patriarch Sergey, for the course

they have taken aimed at improving relations with the Soviet regime, and for delimiting the counter-revolutionary clergy. But this will hardly lead to peace in the House of the Church. Isn't it possible that a new ecclesiastical schism will occur on this basis at the forthcoming Patrimonial Council?"

V.A. Alekseyev, candidate of historical sciences, replies to these questions below.

The reader K. Chernov probably has in mind the decisions made by the Bishops' or Episcopal Council of the Russian Orthodox Church (RPTs), which took place on 30-31 January 1990 in Moscow at the St. Daniel Monastery—the new administrative-and-spiritual center of the RPTs and the residence of the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. The Council gave special consideration to the problems of the RPTs's vital activity in connection with the exacerbation of interethnic and interconfessional processes in several regions of the country. It was, indeed, this Council which adopted the decision on founding the Ukrainian and Belorussian Orthodox Churches, which are still included, just as before, within the RPTs and subordinate to the Patriarch and the Holy Synod. Although, in this connection, it must be emphasized that this is not just a matter of a simple change of "signboards." Each of these two new Churches is establishing its own Synod; their rights are being expanded with regard to administering parish life, the practice of divine liturgical services, etc. on condition that none of this shall lead to infringements on the Orthodox dogma and integrity of the RPTs. As we can see, there is still no grounds or justification for speaking about a schism in the Russian Orthodox Church.

It must be acknowledged, however, that in recent times, as was noted at the Episcopal Council, in the Ukraine's Western oblasts there has been a noticeable activation of the movement by some of the clergy who advocate the immediate establishment of a Ukrainian autocephalic organization (i.e., an independent Church—V.A.). Moreover, the actions of these clergymen are non-canonical, unlawful, and, at times, even violent in their nature. Thus, without any preliminary permission and without any sort of coordination with either the Moscow Patriarchate or the Ukrainian Exarchate [Orthodox Diocese] of the RPTs, they recently proclaimed on their own the "Ukrainian Autocephalic Apostolic Orthodox Church of the Greco-Ukrainian Rite." Bishop Ioann (Bodnarchuk) proclaimed himself to be its primate.

This fact was discussed at a session of the RPTs Holy Synod. As noted in a determination of the Episcopal Council, Bishop Ioann, who had been invited to the session of the Holy Synod, refused to attend it, giving as his reason for this the fact that he had broken with the RPTs and was entirely subordinate to the jurisdiction of the "new Church." After testifying to the "stubbornness in sin" and "lack of repentance" shown by Bishop Ioann, the Synod decreed that he be defrocked and no longer a monk. That's the way things stand at the present time.

But the reader K. Chernov is mistaken when he speaks about the unprecedented nature of the present-day situation within the RPTs. There have already been similar examples. In the most recent history of Russian Orthodoxy there have been instances whereby Ukrainian and Belorussian Churches have been formed.

Not only the reader K. Chernov, but also quite a few other persons interested in the history of Orthodoxy and the mutual relations between the Soviet state and the Church, frequently confuse the "movement for creating a Ukrainian autocephalic organization" with the struggle on the part of Catholics of the Eastern Rite (Uniates) from taking their religious congregations and parishes out of the RPTs and uniting them with the Roman Curia. What we are talking about here are different religious schools of thought. Catholics of the Eastern Rite, whose parishes, indeed, by decision of the Lvov Council were merged with the RPTs in 1946, constitute something completely different and distinct from the UAPT [Ukrainian Autocephalic Apostolic Orthodox Church]. The Uniates comprise a religious trend in Christianity which is oriented or keyed entirely to the Vatican. A certain neglect of this entire problem, along with the arbitrary-administrative solution at one time of the "Uniate Issue," have led to a worsening of relations between Catholics of the Eastern Rite not only with the organs of authority but also with Orthodox believers, as well as to an increase in extremist-type manifestations or phenomena, to the violently and unlawful seizure of several Orthodox parishes and cathedrals. Threatened by the extremists, many Catholics of the Eastern Rite are inclined to blame the Moscow Patriarchate for the worsening of relations; the Patriarchate is supposedly suppressing the freedom of conscience among the believers in these oblasts. Therefore, the Episcopal Council of the RPTs (1990) decided to grant the newly formed Ukrainian and Belorussian Orthodox Churches more independence. This will have to enhance their authority in the eyes of the believers, and it will respond all the more to the spirit of the democratic processes occurring in the Russian Orthodox Church.

In order to resolve the conflict, the Moscow Patriarchate has set up a special commission, which is conducting negotiations with representatives from the Vatican, along with those from religious congregations of Catholics of the Eastern Rite. The Episcopal Council placed great hopes on the country's highest state authorities, having sent a special appeal to M.S. Gorbachev in which it requested him to utilize all his influence in order to stop the exacerbation of this situation.

That is the nature of the complex context of the present-day situation, and, obviously, we must understand the steps undertaken by the RPTs Episcopal Council held at the beginning of 1990 concerning the establishment of the Ukrainian and Belorussian Orthodox Churches.

Now as to the question asked by the reader F. Kadmi-nov. Indeed, among the clergy of the Moscow Patriarchate, there has now appeared a very small group of

priests who are calling upon the hierarchy, the clergy, and laymen to re-examine and revise the heritage of the Russian Orthodox Church's leading officials, beginning with the deeds of the Patriarch Sergiy (Stargorodskiy). They are, in fact, proposing a reassessment of the past experience, beginning from the time when Sergiy was still a Metropolitan—the substitute locum tenens of the Patriarchal Seat and issued in 1927 the well-known "Declaration," wherein the following was stated: "...We church leaders do not stand with the enemies of our Soviet state, nor with the insane weapons of their intrigues, but rather we stand with our people and with our government...."

This group of clergymen is led by G. Yakunin, a priest from the suburban Moscow Nikolsk Church who was freed in 1987 from places of incarceration; he was recently elected an RSFSR People's Deputy with the support of the blocs known as "Democratic Russia" and the "Inter-Regionals." And, along with some laymen, for the most part, believers from among the "radical" intelligentsia, they founded the still rather small movement known as "The Church and Perestroyka" (What we are talking about here are a few dozen or hundreds of members). The initiatory core or nucleus of this movement back in October 1989 directed an appeal to the RPTs Episcopal Council in which it called for the recognition that Metropolitan Sergiy's "Declaration" concerning the Church's loyalty to the Soviet regime lacks the necessary canonical force, inasmuch as it was, they say, written under pressure from the state organs. The initiatory group considers that all the patriarchs from Sergiy to Pimen zealously served the Stalin Cult of Personality, as well as aiding to establish the regimes of Khrushchev, Brezhnev, et al, thereby departing from the testaments bequeathed by Patriarch Tikhon (Belavin). G. Yakunin and his followers insist that the Church return to the principles of its own activity, as set forth in an Epistle of the Bishops which is now little-known to the broad masses of believers. At the end of the 1920's these bishops were incarcerated in Solovki, and in their Epistle they condemned the purportedly de facto subordination of the Church to the state organs.

It should be noted that the "Solovki Epistle" in its own time received wide publicity and a noticeable echo in the Russian Church Abroad. It is not by chance that nowadays certain followers of the association known as "The Church and Perestroyka" are insisting on a break or split of the "healthiest forces in the Russian Orthodox Church from the thoroughly rotten, corrupted hierarchy of the Moscow Patriarchate and association or merger with the clergy of the Russian Church Abroad, who have remained faithful to the true Orthodox canons and traditions. At the present time several parish priests in various localities in the country have proclaimed their transfer, together with their "flocks," to the "jurisdiction of the Russian Church Abroad."

(The Russian Church Abroad was organizationally formed independently without permission of the Patriarchate or Synod in 1921 at an ecclesiastical Congress

held in the Serbian city of Sremska Karlovitsa by emigrant Russian clergymen and laymen. They had broken all their ties with the Moscow Patriarchate, inasmuch as, they said, the "Bolsheviks have abolished the Church's independence, and the remaining clergy have completely subordinated themselves to their [i.e., the Bolsheviks'] directives." The religious and administrative center of the Russian Church Abroad, headed up by its primate, the Metropolitan Vitaliy, is now situated in the town of Jordanville—in the United States. This Church numbers several hundred parishes, has its own districts, and convokes congresses. But, canonically speaking, it is not recognized as independent by other Local or Patrimonial Churches.—V.A.).

Some of the small number of clergymen and laymen who have banded together in their transition to the "jurisdiction of the Russian Church Abroad," are also demanding that the hierarchy of the RPTs permit the attendance of representatives from the Russian Church Abroad at the Local Council which opens on 8 June 1990 at the Troitsa-Sergiyevskaya Lavra in Zagorsk. Furthermore, certain of the most "radical" members of this group are even insisting that bishops of the Russian Church Abroad be "put on the ballot as candidates for the office of Patriarch."

It should be noted that the initiatory group of the movement known as "The Church and Perestroyka" has distanced or separated itself from such demands. Though speaking critically with regard to the "corruption among the highly placed officers of the RPTs," G. Yakunin, nevertheless, does not support the calls for a break with the Moscow Patriarchate or a transfer to the "jurisdiction of the Russian Church Abroad." He notes the necessity for preserving integrity and for activating a rebirth of the RPTs.

In my opinion, there are no grounds for considering that this extremely small group of "radical" elements in the RPTs will be able, at the present time, to substantially influence the deployment of forces at the upcoming Patrimonial Council or to force matters to a schism. Moreover, not a single bishop of the RPTs now in office has joined them. They have no serious chances to be elected in any significantly representative number as delegates of the Patrimonial Council: even G. Yakunin was not elected as a delegate to the Council from his own Moscow Eparchy [Orthodox Diocese].

Nevertheless, there are in the RPTs some bishops who advocate a dialogue with the association known as "The Church and Perestroyka," although they also warn its leaders not to excessively politicize the activity of this movement. For, in such a case, this could lead to a Church schism in the future. Nor is there any uniform approach among the RPTs bishops to the activities of the priest G. Yakunin. Despite the fact that, after his return from incarceration, he was placed in a suburban Moscow parish by the Moscow Patriarchate, he was not "given their blessing" to put his name on the ballot as a candidate for the office of people's deputy of Russia.

However, G. Yakunin ignored this ban. How is he regarded now? On this score, many of the Church officials have different opinions. But most of them are disturbed by the fact that this obstinacy of one person could provoke many persons to mass disobedience to the dispositions of the Patriarch and the Synod, and that there might be the danger of a schism again.

Concerning the relations between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Russian Church Abroad, they continue to remain cool for the time being. The attendance of a delegation from Jordanville at the Patrimonial Council has not been proposed. But even if what seems impossible at present does happen, and such a delegation does come to the Council, there are not chances at all that one of the delegates from across the ocean would be elected to the Patriarchal Seat. According to the Church's Charter, the person elected to be Patriarch of the RPTs can be any bishop who is a **citizen of the USSR**, who has a high reputation and a good name among his peers, as well as among the clergy and laymen. And so, even hypothetically, it is impossible to posit a Church schism with regard to the election of a Church official from abroad as Patriarch.

Even so, in the depths of the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as in the Russian Church Abroad, there is a gradually growing attitude in favor of putting a stop to the confrontation between the two native churches, "which proceed from a single stem and which nourish Russians living in their native Fatherland and outside its borders, where they are "being tested in accordance with God's will." More and more frequently calls for association, to be sure, still very weak and timid, are being sounded by believers from foreign parishes; they declare that perestroyka and the new thinking ought to help to unify those who were split apart for political motives by a single "mother"—the "Russian Church. Also resounding are calls for association among the clergy and laymen of the RPTs. At the Patrimonial Council devoted to the Millennium of Old Russia's baptism, Antony (Blyum), the Metropolitan of Surozhsk, in his speech noted the following: "And there is one more group that I want to single out particularly; they call themselves the Russian Church Abroad, and we call them the Karlovitsa Group, or the Karlovitsa Schism.... There has been a call to them to return to the bosom of the Russian Church, to overcome the spirit of bitterness.... I think that it would be a good thing if we, in this same epistle, were to appeal to them in such terms of frankness and love, with a call to them to enter with us into a prayerful and eucharistic communion, emphasizing that we do not require from them nor do we expect any abnegation of their own political or social views, but that the Church is sufficiently deep and wide to encompass all of us...."

Of course, it is, most likely, still an extremely long way to go before an actual merging or association can be achieved. But the tendencies outlined above impel us to say that this process can begin soon.

Gorbunovs, Godmanis Attend Cardinal Vaivods' Funeral

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31 May 90 p 4

[LETA report: "Funeral Services for the Cardinal"]

[Text] In the Ekab Cathedral in Riga on May 28, memorial services were held for Julijans Vaivods, Cardinal and Baltic head of the Roman Catholic Church, who died at the age of 95.

"The spiritual strength of the deceased reinforced the aim of the Baltic peoples toward independence, and the courageous words of Julijans Vaivods greatly influenced the minds and hearts of the people," said the Lithuanian Cardinal, Vincentas Sladkevicius, who conducted the memorial services.

The holy liturgy was performed by Latvian Bishop Janis Caklus, the archbishop of Vilnius, Julionas Steponavicius, and four Lithuanian bishops.

Throngs of devout Catholics attended the memorial service, as did priests of various orders, and graduates of the Riga seminary. Also present was chairman of the Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Republic Council of Ministers, Ivars Godmanis, and members of the government and deputies of the Latvian Supreme Soviet.

At the end of the public service, the casket with the body of Julijans Vaivods passed through the living human

corridor to the hearse on the shoulders of the seminarians. Remains of the deceased will be brought to the village of Aglona, where the burial service and the funeral will be held.

Deep sorrow over the death of 95 year-old Cardinal Julijans Vaivods brought together the brothers in faith to the Aglona Roman Catholic Church of Holy Mary. Here, where the head of the Latvian Catholics began his long and faithful service to God and to the people, he chose to be buried.

Roman papal delegate of John Paul the Second and primate of the Catholic Church of Poland Cardinal Jozef Glemp officiated at the holy funeral mass. The selection of this candidate obviously was not accidental. Glemp and Vaivod were cardinals at the same time.

"I had the opportunity to know personally this remarkable man," said Jozef Glemp, "who was judged by his work in the name of God, as the first cardinal in the Baltic states and as a first among the Latvian people. Together with his long-suffering people, he lived through two world wars. And when peace came, and Yulian Vaivod stood to pray for it, he was deported.

...Thousands of parishoners observed a sorrowful silence during the burial of the deceased. Words of parting were heard. A telegram with condolences was read out loud. Representing John Paul the Second at the funeral services was Francesco Kolosionno, papal nuncio in Moscow. Lithuanian Cardinal Vintsentas Sladkevchys, Belorussian Bishop Tadeusz Kondrusevich, representatives of various faiths from the Ukraine and Kazakhstan laid wreaths at the grave, which was covered with flowers. Members of the government of the Latvian Republic and representatives of the Community honored the memory of the first Latvian cardinal.